

'SPEECHES

delivered by

H. E. the Earl of Lytton, P.C., G.C.I.E.,

GOVERNOR OF BENGAL,

during

1922-23.

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SPEECHES DELIVERED BY HIS EXCELLENCY LORD LYTTON DURING 1922-23.

*Address presented by the Corporation of Calcutta,
on 29th March 1922.*

We, the Chairman and Commissioners of the Corporation, on behalf of the citizens of Calcutta, beg to offer Your Excellency and Lady Lytton a warm and cordial welcome to this city on Your Excellency's assumption of the exalted office of Governor of the Presidency of Bengal. We may add that the cordiality of our welcome is enhanced by the recollection of Your Excellency's hereditary connection with India, and the fact that you were born in this country.

2. Over 40 years have elapsed since Your Excellency's distinguished father left Calcutta at the close of his Viceroyalty. During this period, the city has made great and rapid progress. Its area has been enlarged by nearly 13 square miles ; its population has increased by 50 per cent ; its assessed valuation has more than quadrupled, while the revenue of the Corporation has risen from 28 lakhs of rupees to 172 lakhs of rupees. As the result of commercial enterprise, British and Indian, and also of sustained effort on the part of the Corporation, Calcutta has maintained its

proud position as the premier city of the East. It is our endeavour, in association with the Calcutta Improvement Trust, to improve the conveniences and amenities of civic life and to achieve the ideal of a healthy, commodious and beautiful city.

3. The amendment of the Calcutta Municipal Act is one of the principal matters now engaging our attention. A Bill to liberalise the present constitution of the Corporation and bring it into harmony with existing conditions has been introduced in the Legislative Council, and is receiving our careful consideration. We are confident that any suggestions we may make with a view to secure the fullest development of Municipal policy in Calcutta will receive Your Excellency's support.

4. Other matters of local importance which we may bring to the notice of Your Excellency are the improvement of the water-supply of the city which will shortly be taken in hand at a cost of over two crores of rupees; the provision of a new drainage outfall in consequence of the continued silting up of the Bidyadhari river, and the extension and improvement of primary education in Calcutta for which the Corporation have recently assumed responsibility. We are aware that these schemes will impose a heavy strain on our finances which have already had to bear the greatly increased cost of municipal services and higher rates of interest to be paid on loans. We hope, therefore, that any representation we may make in regard to

financing these schemes and augmenting our resources will receive Your Excellency's sympathetic consideration.* *

5. In conclusion, we hope that Your Excellency may have a successful term of office and that you may be able to further the development, add to the prosperity of the Province and help in the promotion of peace and goodwill among all classes.

6. We pray that Your Excellencies may enjoy health and happiness during your stay in Bengal.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Address of the
Calcutta Corporation, on 29th March 1922.***

MR. CHAIRMAN AND COMMISSIONERS,

I am very grateful for the cordial terms of the welcome which you have addressed to Lady Lytton and myself on my assumption of the office of Governor of Bengal. To be received in so kindly a manner on our arrival in this great and historic city by those who are entitled to speak on behalf of its citizens, has added greatly to the pleasure and interest which we naturally feel on returning to a country with which we both have such strong family associations.

You have referred to the fact that my father came to India 46 years ago as Viceroy and his selection for that high and honourable post is one of the things of which his family have ever been most proud. Lady Lytton, too, belongs to a family which is also honourably connected with India. The Plowdens have distinguished themselves in many branches of the public service and in many different parts of India. Lady Lytton herself has spent many years in India though, like myself, she has not been in Calcutta since she was a very small child. It is, therefore, as old friends, so to speak, that we have come to a country which we have been taught to love, which our parents have been proud to serve, and with which we consider it a great privilege to be associated at this critical epoch of its history.

If I am not mistaken it was in the year 1876, that the Corporation of Calcutta was first established on a representative basis. If that be so, then you and I, gentlemen, are of the same age. We date our existence from the same year. As you point out in your address, many changes have taken place in Calcutta, as elsewhere in the world, in those 46 years, but I am glad to learn that they have been in the direction of greater expansion, greater progress and greater prosperity.

You have referred to the Bill now before the Legislative Council for the amendment of the Calcutta Municipal Act, and the fact that this was also the first subject to which you invited the sympathetic attention of my predecessor on his arrival here five years ago, is a reminder that in political matters, especially, where legislation is concerned, a great deal of patience is often demanded of us before we are allowed to see the realization of our wishes. I remember in this connection that when my grandfather was a young man in Parliament he worked hard for the repeal of what were then called the "taxes upon knowledge," and though on one occasion when he brought forward his motion in the House of Commons, he was promised by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the matter would be dealt with in the next year's Budget, it was in fact 20 years before that promise was redeemed and his efforts were crowned with success. I only hope that this Bill will now pass into law without

any further delay in a form which you will regard as satisfactory. To me it seems a happy augury that as my first arrival in India, coincided with the first establishment of the Corporation on a popular basis, the year of my return should witness the rebirth of that Corporation upon a still more popular and representative basis.

You tell me that important work in connection with the drainage and the water-supply of the city are in contemplation, and I realize how difficult you will find it to reconcile the demands of your ratepayers both for reduced expenditure and for improved services. With your efforts to promote the welfare of this great city, to beautify it, to enrich it, to improve the health of its citizens and increase their happiness, you will find me a keen sympathiser. It has been one of my chief interests at Home for many years to study the most recent developments in town planning and civic improvements of all kinds. It will now be a great pleasure to me to continue those studies in the foremost city of the East and to give you whatever assistance is in my power in promoting the interests of Calcutta and its inhabitants.

Once more I thank you for your address of welcome. To merit the confidence which you have expressed and, if it may be, to win and retain your affection also, is my most earnest hope and my highest ambition.

*Address presented by the British Indian Association,
on 30th March 1922.*

We, the members of the British Indian Association, approach Your Excellency to offer you a cordial welcome to our Province and our respectful congratulations on your assumption of the exalted office of Governor of Bengal.

2. We feel a peculiar pleasure and pride in the fact that Your Lordship's illustrious father, the First Earl of Lytton, was Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and that you were born in this country.

3. Your Lordship has already acquired much administrative and Parliamentary experience, while your recent connection with India as Under-Secretary of State has given you an insight into the problems of Indian administration, which will, we are confident, be a most valuable equipment in the discharge of the onerous duties which you have now been called upon to perform.

4. The Reform Act has ushered in a new era full of bright promise and far-reaching potentialities. During this period of transition, Your Lordship will have to steer the ship of State to the haven of safety, with the prudence, but also the courage of an experienced mariner through fair weather as well as foul.

5: Your Lordship is not only the inheritor of a name famous in the domain of literature, but has also earned distinction as an author of a work of value. We earnestly hope that in your new office, you will be able to add to the laurels already achieved in England another by governing the people of this Province in such a way as to win their lasting affection and gratitude.

6. Bengal is now passing through a financial crisis which has already necessitated the laying of a heavy burden of taxes upon the people of the Province in these days of widespread poverty and distress brought about by the recent War. Your Excellency's predecessor tried hard to secure a readjustment of the financial contribution of this Province to the Government of India, but could secure only a partial and temporary relief. We are confident that Your Excellency will not cease to press this point upon the attention of the Government of India until the object is fully achieved. But so long as we do not obtain this relief, we shall have to try our best to lighten the burden of taxation by a retrenchment of expenditure as far as possible. We also submit that in these times of financial strain, it would be a great relief to the people, if Your Lordship could afford greater facilities to the people for equipping themselves for industrial and commercial careers, and open out for them those professions and services that are not within their reach at present. A workable scheme for ship-building, for instance, now

under the consideration of the Government of India would, if put into practice, offer means of livelihood to hundreds of youths of our country and enable them to bear easily the burden that a progressive Government might find it necessary to put upon their shoulders.

7. We beg leave to assure Your Excellency of our unswerving allegiance to our beloved Sovereign, and our constant readiness to offer our humble co-operation and services, whenever needed, to promote the advancement of our fellow-subjects.

8. In conclusion, we pray that Providence may bless Your Excellency with health and happiness during your sojourn in Bengal.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Address of the
British Indian Association, on 30th March 1922.***

GENTLEMEN,

I am grateful to you for the kind words which you have addressed to Lady Lytton and myself. I am very conscious of the important responsibilities attaching to the office to which it has pleased the King-Emperor to appoint me, and I pray that God may help me to make a wise use, in co-operation with the people of this Province, of the opportunities thus afforded to me. It is a great encouragement to Lady Lytton and myself to be assured of the good wishes and confidence of so important and influential a body as that which you represent.

As you remind me, Gentlemen, I was myself born in India and it is with the greatest pleasure and interest that I now find myself able after so many years to return to the land of my birth. It is a very different India from that which I left 42 years ago. There were no Indian Councils of any kind in those days. The Congress movement even had not begun, and now, as you mention in your address, the Reform Act has been passed and we are on the threshold of a new era which you are right in describing as a period of transition. In the world of politics very little is certain and it is never safe to prophesy, but one thing at least is obvious—and that is that the particular stage in the constitutional history of India in which we

find ourselves at this moment cannot last. It is but an interval—a bridge, so to speak, from one form of Government to another—and such periods, of course, have their special difficulties. At such times there is much uncertainty and restlessness—no one can settle down because he feels that some change must come soon and he does not quite know what the change will be and, therefore, every one is inclined to wait, to expect, to ask for further developments rather than to use to the utmost the opportunities that are at hand. You will know better than I do how far that is true of the present time in India, but so far as I have been able to judge it from a distance, it has seemed to me that there is just now a tendency to criticise and to depreciate the Reform Act as an inadequate instalment of self-government and a failure to realise that the Act, though not by any means a grant of full self-government, is something more than an instalment of it—whether adequate or inadequate. It is a means to the attainment of self-government—it is, in fact, a bridge. May I go back to that simile for a moment and ask you to imagine a great river—greater even than those which abound in India—greater even than the sacred Ganges itself? On one side of it is the country of autocratic Government in which India has lived till now—on the other side is the country of representative institutions—of *Swaraj*, in which she aspires to live some day and meanwhile there is this great river between—so deep and so wide that not till the telescope of Western education

was obtained, was it possible even to see across to the other side; but looked at through that telescope, the other country appeared attractive—more desirable, in fact, than the country in which you were living, and the demand arose first among a few—a very few—but an ever increasing demand to be transported into the *Swaraj* territory. But the great river remained a barrier and it could not be crossed. Till now there has been no bridge. The Morley-Minto Councils were not a bridge—they were a pier or a peninsula jutting out into the river and pointing to the opposite shore. It brought those who used the pier a little nearer to the opposite side, but it stopped in mid-stream—it was not a bridge and those who walked along it would never have got any further even if they had waited for a thousand years. Now, at last, a bridge has been built—it may not be a perfect bridge, it may not be a very wide one or allow many people on it at one time, but the important thing about it is that it is now a bridge and not merely a pier—it touches the other side.

Now consider for a moment what is happening in connection with that bridge. Some are refusing to use it at all, because they are satisfied where they are and do not want to get to the other side—others, who profess to be most anxious to get to the other side, are refusing to cross it—they would even destroy it and why? Because they say the bridge itself is not the land they want to live in. Of course it is not—but it is a means of getting there and if you destroy the bridge you

will be farther from and not nearer to your promised land.

Then there are others on the bridge and what are they doing? They seem to me to be so busy discussing the structure of the bridge—some saying it is a good bridge and some that it is a bad one—that they have forgotten its purpose which is to lead to the other side. All this, Gentlemen, I have watched from a distance. I have played a small part in the building of the bridge. I believe it is strong enough for its purpose. I am now on that bridge and prepared to take the journey across it hand in hand with you. If we encounter difficulties, I am prepared to help you, as I hope you are prepared to help me. How long it will take us to get to the other side, I cannot say. That will depend on how much we concentrate our energies upon using this means of transit, or how much we squander them in marking time and clamouring for a better bridge.

Forgive me—I have let myself run on in metaphor, but I hope that my meaning has not been lost in the picturesqueness of my imagery.

I am fully alive to the importance of the topics which you touch upon in your address and I assure you that they will receive from me careful and sympathetic attention.

I appreciate greatly the loyal sentiments which you have expressed towards His Majesty the King-Emperor and I thank you again for the kind welcome which you have given to Lady Lytton and myself.

Address presented by the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, on 30th March 1922.

On the occasion of your assumption of the high office of Governor of Bengal, we, the President, Vice-Presidents and members of the Council of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, Bengal, respectfully offer Your Excellency and Countess Lytton the sincere greetings of the communities whom we represent.

2. We anticipate with confidence that the great traditions of your House, whether in letters or in statesmanship, and your own knowledge of the problems of Government in India, as well as your natural interest in the land of your birth, will quicken in you a sympathetic insight into the needs, potentialities, and aspirations of the many dissimilar communities with whom your exalted position will bring you into contact. Your personal gifts and experience augur favourably for the conduct of public affairs during the period of your proconsulate, and we pray that you may receive from all races of people that unstinted and loyal support which Your Excellency will ever receive from the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European communities. You may rely upon us to endeavour to uphold right and

law; to labour for friendly relations with our neighbours, and to assist, so far as in us lies, the reconciliation of conflicting interests.

3. The Association, whose Council we form, was established in 1876, just one year before your illustrious father arrived in India as Governor-General and Viceroy; and his sustained interest in our Association and in the welfare of our community, is still remembered with gratitude. It was he who established European education as a separate and specific branch of the Department of Public Instruction in every Province of India, and it has since been recognized as a special responsibility of the British Government. His Minute of the 25th March 1878, followed by his Resolution of 1879, laid the foundation of that system of European Education, which, under the Government of India Act, 1919, is now a Provincial Reserved subject. As such it will be in Your Excellency's keeping. We pray that Your Excellency will not only guard, but also advance, what we have inherited as a cherished and invaluable legacy from your generous and sympathetic father. More entirely than any other race in the country, our wage-earning capacity depends upon a sound and liberal education; and the throwing open of the recruitment of the higher services to competition indifferently in England and India, has given an added importance to the schools maintained for the Britisher and his descendants in this land.

4. There may be occasions when we shall desire the privilege of waiting on Your Excellency in times of difficulty, or with problems of major concern to our community. On these occasions we venture to hope that Your Excellency will be pleased to grant us access and a kindly hearing.

5. That God will be gracious to you, strengthen and guide you for and in the arduous duties that lie before you, is our earnest supplication.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Address of the
Anglo-Indian Association, on 30th March
1922.***

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you for your friendly greetings to Lady Lytton and myself and for the support which you are so kind as to offer me on behalf of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European communities in my new office.

I am interested to learn that your Association was established in 1876, for that means that we are exact contemporaries. It was in that year that my father came to India as Viceroy and that I was born in Simla four months after his arrival.

You attach great importance to the maintenance of a high standard of European education and I can assure you that I am fully alive to the special value of this department of the Government. In England I have always taken a special interest in education. I have been personally identified with some of the most progressive educational movements there and, moreover, a great part of the time during which I have held the office of Under-Secretary of State for India, has been devoted to the educational needs of the young Indian in England.

Gentlemen, I am aware of the difficulties with which the Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans

'are faced in the matter of providing adequate education for their children. There is first the climate to contend with and the expense of sending the children to hill schools. Education, as you truly point out, is more important than ever in present circumstances, as upon it depend the chances of admission to the Government service. I can assure you, therefore, that any suggestions which you can put before me for improvement in this important department of Government, will receive my most sympathetic attention. I shall be very willing to see you at any time, should you wish to bring before me matters in which your community is interested.

*Address presented by the Indian Association, on
30th March 1922.*

We, the members of the Indian Association, desire to approach Your Excellency with this humble address on the occasion of your assumption of the high office of Governor of Bengal. We pray that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to convey to our august Sovereign, His Majesty the King-Emperor, the expression of our unflinching loyalty and devotion to the British connection with the permanency of which we believe are bound up the prospects of Indian advancement and of India taking her legitimate place as an equal partner among the Free States of the British Empire.

2. Your Excellency does not come to us as a stranger unacquainted with our people and their traditions. Your Excellency has a hereditary interest in the welfare of our people. We claim you as an Indian born in India, surrounded in your early life by the traditions of this great and ancient country, and versed in our affairs by association with the high office of the Under-Secretary of State for India.

3. The country has entered upon a new era by the introduction of the Reform scheme, and we are now at the end of the first eventful year of its operation under the distinguished auspices of your predecessor who has left the abiding impress

of real statesmanship upon the early development of this great experiment. The experiment, we need hardly add, is beset with difficulties, not the least trying of which is the financial embarrassment through which the country is passing and which, unless remedied, must seriously hamper the growth and progress of those nation building departments, such as Sanitation, Education and the Industries, upon which the success of the Reforms and the future of the country so largely depend. The financial problem is for the present the problem of problems for Bengal, and we desire to call Your Excellency's early attention to it in the assured confidence that Your Excellency will seek to solve it with that resolute and firm statesmanship which distinguished the administration of Your Excellency's illustrious predecessor; and in this connection we may, perhaps, be permitted to add that Your Excellency will receive the whole-hearted co-operation of the people of the Province in any endeavour which the Government may make to obtain financial justice for Bengal.

4. This is not the time nor the place to discuss the other great questions which are agitating the public mind in our Province, but we cannot disguise from ourselves the serious situation with which India stands confronted to-day and which is largely reflected in the life of this Presidency. We deplore the acts of lawlessness and violence which have cast a shadow over the

history of the Indian Continent and which are wholly inconsistent with the traditions of peacefulness and orderly progress to which the people of India are devotedly attached by instinct and the immemorial habits of their race. We fervently hope that the good sense, the patriotism and the clear perception of the real proportion of things may soon assert themselves in the councils of the nation, and the darkness which now frowns upon us may pass away under the combined operation of the sympathetic statesmanship of our rulers and the hearty co-operation of the people.

5. In conclusion, it is our earnest hope and prayer that the blessing of Almighty Providence may rest upon those arduous labours which lie before Your Excellency in the government of this Province, that Your Excellency's rule may leave its beneficent marks upon the annals of our progress, and that when the time comes for Your Excellency to lay down the reins of your exalted office, it may be amid the benedictions of a happy, prosperous and grateful people.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Address of the
Indian Association, on 30th March 1922.***

GENTLEMEN,

I am most sincerely grateful to you for the welcome which you have accorded in such generous terms to Lady Lytton and myself, on behalf of the Indian Association.

I appreciate the expression of your loyalty to the person of His Majesty the King-Emperor and of your devotion to the British connection. It will be my endeavour on all occasions to support your efforts to secure that the terms of that connection shall be consistent with the gradual advance of India towards responsible self-government and her status as a free and equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. In return, I shall count on your co-operation and assistance in making such connection intelligible and acceptable to the Indian people.

I have watched with interest the working of the new Reform Scheme in all parts of India, and it has been my duty on one or two occasions to defend in Parliament the successful operation of the Act against those who are only anxious to prove it a failure. Success in this somewhat novel and difficult constitutional experiment can only be achieved where there is goodwill and co-operation between the Legislature and the Executive as

a whole, and I am fortunate in succeeding to a province where these elements have been so largely secured by the tact and wisdom of my predecessor, and I sincerely hope that this cordial relationship will be confirmed and strengthened during my period of office.

Of the financial difficulties which have attended the inauguration of the new scheme, I am of course aware. In the Central Government and in every Provincial Government this difficulty has been acute, but nowhere more so than in Bengal. The representations of my predecessor on this matter received the sympathy and support of the Secretary of State, but the difficulty of translating the vague phrases of the Meston Report into a practical proposal which would not destroy the whole financial relations between the Central and Provincial Governments, has hitherto proved insuperable. I hope that some more satisfactory arrangement may be reached before long, because it does seem to me that the greatest danger to the successful working of the reforms arises from their financial aspect.

As you know, I have studied the working of the Government of India Act under a chief who was himself one of the chief parents of that Act. I have been looking forward with pleasure to co-operating with him and continuing the relationship of perfect sympathy and confidence which existed between us in London, and it was with the most profound disappointment that I heard

of his resignation after I left England. But let me assure you that Lord Peel is also a friend of mine, and I am confident that, not only will his appointment involve no change in the policy of the Government in England, but that the relationship of perfect sympathy and co-operation between the Secretary of State and the Central and Provincial Governments in India will continue undiminished.

Address presented by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, on 30th March 1922.

We, the members of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, beg leave most respectfully to approach Your Excellency and offer our hearty and cordial welcome to you and to Lady Lytton on the occasion of Your Excellency's assumption of the exalted office of the Governor of Bengal.

2. Your Excellency does not come to us as a stranger. The name of your great-grandfather whose literary works have attracted the attention and enthralled the admiration of generations of readers in every part of the world where the English language is understood, is a household word in India. Your Excellency's father was at the helm of affairs in India at a time when the country was passing through a crisis—when famine was devastating Southern India and rampant war “had yoked the red dragons of her iron car” on the Afghan frontier. Your Excellency was born in India during your father's Viceroyalty and has always evinced an interest in its affairs. Your Excellency has filled the offices of the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, Additional Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, British Commissioner for Propaganda in France, and Chairman of the Commission on Indian Students in England, and for the last two years, Your Excellency has shared the responsibility of Indian

Administration with the Right Hon'ble Edwin Samuel Montagu as Under-Secretary of State for India. The varied experience thus acquired has well equipped Your Excellency for the duties of the office to which you have been called.

3. Bengal—like other parts of India—is, at the present moment, passing through a political and commercial crisis. The influence of the war is manifesting itself in political discontent, languished trade, and high cost of living. Many are the problems that await solution at Your Excellency's hands. They will—and, perhaps, at the present moment are engaging Your Excellency's anxious consideration. We are confident that the interests of Bengal will be safe in Your Excellency's hands and Bengal will find in Your Excellency an able and sympathetic ruler who will successfully champion her cause whenever and wherever necessary, and guide her in her onward march towards responsible government along the path of peaceful progress.

4. In conclusion, we pray that under Your Excellency's administration Bengal may show a glorious record of moral and material progress, and health and happiness may be Your Excellency's and Lady Lytton's portion in the Presidency, of which it has pleased His Majesty the King-Emperor to appoint you Governor.

His Excellency's Reply to the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, on 30th March 1922.

GENTLEMEN,

It is a great pleasure to me to meet the members of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce—a body with which I have no doubt I shall have much important intercourse during my period of office—and to receive from them so cordial an address of welcome. On Lady Lytton's behalf, as well as my own, I thank you for your friendly greeting to us.

You have been kind enough to welcome me as one who is no stranger to you. My grandfather's services to literature and my father's services to India have served as an introduction. I am glad to avail myself of that introduction, but I hope before I leave this province that I may succeed in earning your confidence on my own account.

You refer in your address to the political and commercial crisis through which Bengal is passing. This, of course, as you recognise, is not peculiar to Bengal. The recent war lasted so long and was so devastating in its effect that there is scarcely any quarter of the civilised world that is not now suffering from its evil legacies. Not only is there unrest and political disturbance throughout India, but it would be hard to find a single country in which there is not to-day, much distress arising from economic causes, and political unrest which is the natural offspring of bad economic conditions.

In England, we have had, and still have, these conditions in an acute form. I believe that the true remedy is to be found as often in the department of economics as in that of politics. The maintenance of law and order will never, I can assure you, be with me a debatable issue of policy. The essential condition of the existence of any Government, whether it be an autocratic Government, a democratic Government, a *Swaraj* Government, or any other kind of Government, is to enforce its authority, maintain order and ensure obedience. That is obvious, elementary, and admits of no discussion—but there are some people who are foolish enough to suppose that it is the only function of Government—and this is, perhaps, the most dangerous school of all. It is as clearly the duty of statesmanship to investigate with patience, with wisdom and with sympathy, the causes of political unrest—the reasons which lead usually law-abiding people on rare occasions to defy the authority of Government. When this is done, it will generally be found, I think, that the causes are very varied and are intricately interwoven. I shall be glad at all times to avail myself of the assistance of your Chamber of Commerce in extricating the economic and industrial causes of discontent from the political ones, and in devising means for the amelioration of conditions which lie within your province. I hope at such times to receive from you the assistance which your kind words to-day entitle me to expect.

*Address presented by the Bengal Mahajan Sabha,
•on 30th March 1922.*

We, the members of the Bengal Mahajan Sabha, beg to offer Your Excellency and Lady Lytton our hearty and respectful greetings on the assumption by Your Lordship of the high and exalted office of the Governor of Bengal. We may be permitted to observe that our knowledge of the fact that India is Your Excellency's birth place and that she and her people have always had a great attraction for you, enhances the warmth and cordiality of our welcome.

2. Although dark clouds have overshadowed the political firmament of Bengal, it is gratifying to note that they are not wholly without their silver lining and we are confident that they will soon roll away under the broad and beneficent administration of Your Excellency. At the same time we are convinced more than ever that the present political ferment has for its root cause the deplorable economic condition of the suffering masses of this country. We venture to hope that Your Excellency will address yourself to the solution of the economic problem in order that the people may have lasting peace, contentment and security within the Empire.

3. We regret to observe that the short experience of one year during which the Reform Scheme has been working, has made it painfully clear even to many of its ardent supporters, that

the administration has become extremely top-heavy and increasingly costly far beyond the financial capacities of the Province. We respectfully submit that the dismal financial outlook, which has necessitated the imposition of fresh Imperial and Provincial taxation upon an impoverished people for meeting the growing cost of administration, is a matter of graver concern and anxiety. We feel sure that until a more favourable financial readjustment can be effected to the advantage of Bengal, the need for a policy of scrupulous economy, retrenchment and reduction in the cost of administration will be kept in view in order that Dyarchy from which so much had been expected and so little has been realised so far, may not be cast aside by the people themselves as an expensive experiment of doubtful public benefit. In this connection we beg to submit that the levying of fresh burdens upon the people is bound to aggravate the situation and accentuate discontent.

4. The conviction that Your Excellency assumes the satrapy of Bengal with a heart full of sympathy for its suffering millions and with a will to seek their welfare, encourages us to hope that effective steps will be taken to bring down the soaring prices of foodstuffs and necessities of life by legitimate restriction on exports and State Regulation of prices and profiteering.

5. Adulteration of foodstuffs is one of the fruitful causes, which has tended to sap the vitality of the nation. We regret to point out

that the evil has flourished in spite of legislative enactment intended for its suppression. We venture to submit that adulteration which has reached formidable proportions in every part of the country, will not stop so long as the offence remains punishable only with fine and not with imprisonment.

6. We take this opportunity to invite Your Excellency's attention to the increasing inroads of water hyacinth all over the Province, with the result that agricultural operations have been impeded, waterways have been choked, and public health has been menaced. It is absolutely necessary that vigorous measures should be taken to rid the country of this terrible pest.

7. Your Excellency's recent utterance on the eve of your departure from England, that "you knew India both from official association and also as the land of your birth" inspires us with the hope that the question of the improvement of the natural avenues of trade and commerce, the provision of better and more adequate drinking water and medical aid in rural areas will receive Your Lordship's sympathetic attention.

8. It is a painful fact that malaria has been desolating almost every hamlet in Bengal. We feel sure that before embarking on experimental projects of uncertain utility at colossal expenditure, Your Excellency's government will have the whole question of anti-malarial measures carefully investigated.

9. We are of opinion that the salvation of the country lies in the rapid growth and development of cottage industries. Although the question of technical and industrial education has been before the Government and the people for over 35 years, we regret there is no subject on which more has been written and said, while less has been accomplished. We earnestly hope that the question of technical education and the development of cottage industries in particular will receive Your Excellency's fostering care.

10. We fully recognise the difficulties and the magnitude of the task that lies before Your Lordship and take this opportunity to assure Your Excellency of our sincere loyalty to the Crown and of our willing co-operation in the administration of the country whose destiny has been committed to your sacred charge.

11. May the Almighty Providence help Your Excellency in winning universal gratitude and affection, and give Your Excellencies long life, health and prosperity is the sincere and earnest prayer of

Your Excellency's most obedient servants.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Bengal Mahajan
Sabha Address, on 30th March 1922:***

GENTLEMEN,

Allow me to express to you the sincere thanks of Lady Lytton and myself for the friendly greeting which you have offered to us upon our arrival in Calcutta. We both have family connections and associations with India which make it of special interest to us to come back to this country. It was, I believe, in this very house that we first met each other in childhood, though neither of us have now any recollection of that meeting.

I agree with you in thinking that bad economic conditions provide a very fertile soil for the growth of political unrest, and I shall certainly devote my attention to the improvement, where possible, of industrial and economic conditions in Bengal. The most perfect political institutions in the world would be valueless, if the people to whom they were granted were sunk in ignorance, loaded down by poverty or enfeebled by disease. For the State to be healthy—the people that compose it must be healthy—both in mind and body, and it is difficult to keep patient when one sees the efforts of unscrupulous agitators to delude people into the belief that poverty, ignorance and disease can be cured by some simple political panacea. Therefore, though interest in the development of the Indian constitution has been my chief motive in accepting the post of Governor of this province, I feel that I should even be happier if I could say at the end of my term of office that I had been able to

witness the extermination of the scourge of Malaria from Bengal, and that I had seen the establishment of new industries by which the wealth of the province had been so increased that a higher standard of comfort had been made possible in the homes and in the lives of its people, than I shall be, if I can claim that in my time a new and satisfactory advance has been made along the road towards responsible self-government.

I am obliged to you for bringing to my notice the evils arising from the adulteration of food-stuffs and the ravages of water hyacinth, and I can promise you that I will give my personal attention to these matters.

Though hitherto I have only had experience of the working of the new Reforms from a distance, yet I am inclined to share your anxiety as to their costliness. I have a sincere desire to see the success of the new Act, and I agree with you that it has but a small chance of success, if its only visible fruits in early years are an increase of officials and heavier burdens of taxation. In England, we have had to submit recently to the ruthless application of what is known as the Geddes' Axe, and it may be that in India, too, a surgical operation of a similar character may prove to be the best friend even of the service to which it is applied.

You will not expect me to express any opinion on these matters as yet, but I shall give them my most careful attention.

Again I thank you for the kind sentiments which you have expressed in your address.

*Address presented by the National Liberal League,
on 30th March 1922.*

We, the members of the National Liberal League, beg to offer Your Excellency and Lady Lytton a most cordial welcome on Your Excellency's assumption of the high office of Governor of Bengal. In doing so, we remember with a feeling of special gratification that India claims to be the land of Your Excellency's birth, while Her Excellency Countess Lytton has also close associations with this country. It is a fact of no little importance to us, inasmuch as it means that Your Excellencies' interest in the advancement of India must be deep and never-failing.

2. The services which Your Excellency has rendered in the past with such conspicuous success fill our hearts with the strong hope that the same success, if not greater, will attend Your Excellency's labours in Bengal. This hope is fully justified by the evidence which Your Excellency has already afforded as Under-Secretary of State for India, of your intense interest in India's welfare. We feel confident that under Your Excellency's able and sympathetic guidance the cause of Bengal's sanitation and education will receive a strong impetus and her political, economic and moral problems will find their happy solution.

3. India is passing through troublous times. The most deplorable acts of lawlessness and violence—all as the fruit of the movement known as non-violence non-co-operation—have cast a shadow over the fair fame of our country, though we desire to assure Your Excellency that our community as a whole remain firm in their devotion to the British connection. But the fact that Your Excellency has accepted the exalted office in Bengal to which His Gracious Majesty has called you, undeterred by reports of disturbances and troubles and trials ahead, is additional evidence of Your Excellency's keen interest in India and of determination to bring about peace and goodwill in Bengal by a reign of love and sympathy.

4. The Liberal Party in Bengal, which our League represents, stands for evolution and united action by different classes and interests. We believe that the highest goal to which India aspires can only be attained through our indissoluble union with the British Empire. We have always upheld, as we shall continue to do, law and order and condemned lawlessness wherever found. We desire to assure Your Excellency that in your sympathetic attempts to bring about a calm and peaceful atmosphere you may rely upon our co-operation.

5. The introduction of the Reforms has brought upon us a new political era. The Bengal Reformed Council has just completed the first year

of its activities. We believe that on the whole it has done well under the sympathetic, able and statesman-like guidance of Your Excellency's predecessor. The financial problem of Bengal with which Your Excellency is, perhaps, fully acquainted, bids fair to be a serious menace to the complete success of the Reforms. We trust that in our appeal to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for a thorough revision of the Meston award we shall receive Your Excellency's cordial support.

6. In conclusion, we hope and pray that God may crown with success Your Excellency's labours towards *Swaraj* in the attainment of which, we hope, Bengal will, under Your distinguished statesmanship, take a leading part. May He bless Your Excellencies with health and happiness while you are in our midst.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Address of the
National Liberal League, on 30th March 1922.***

GENTLEMEN,

It is very good of you to come here and bid me 'welcome on behalf of the Liberal Party in Bengal, and I appreciate greatly the kind way in which you have referred to Lady Lytton and myself.

I hope you will find, when we get to know each other better, that though not brought up in the same political traditions as yourselves, in political matters we have the same point of view. I have never been a member of the Liberal Party in England, though I have worked with it on many questions. I did not have to choose a political party in order to get into Parliament. I found myself in possession of a political status by inheritance and the reason why I have never changed my party, as some of my friends have done, is a secret which I have never divulged to anyone in England, but if you will promise not to betray my confidence to any member of the National Liberal Club in London, I will tell it to you. The reason is that I never succeeded in finding more Liberalism in the Liberal Party than in the one into which I was born. In fact, my political apprenticeship was spent in fighting the Liberal Party for what I considered to be its illiberal attitude towards the women of England

who wished to be admitted to the franchise. Then when the war came, we all abandoned party labels, and the only two Governments in which I have served have passed measures which in old days would have aroused the bitterest opposition of the Carlton Club, though they have contained members whose names were anathema to the National Liberal Club. I will ask you, therefore, to judge me by my fruits and not by the garden in which I have been planted or the label which has been attached to my trunk.

In your address you have spoken of the deplorable acts of violence and lawlessness which have cast a shadow over India in recent years, and you refer to the financial difficulties in which the Government of Bengal has been placed since the Reform Act. I am inclined to think that the combination of these two conditions is more serious than has hitherto been realised. As you have been kind enough to recognise, I was fully aware, before I left England, of the existence of political unrest in India, and I was not deterred by any fears on that account from accepting the post which has entitled me to your congratulations to-day. I am not afraid of the unrest, but if I found myself with only an insolvent Government and growing taxation with which to deal with such a situation, then I should, indeed, be alarmed. It is through the establishment of material prosperity that I hope to achieve political contentment in this province, and I hope I may

count on your support in any schemes of economic or industrial development which may achieve that end. Poverty, ignorance, and disease are the enemies which we ought all to unite in fighting, and if I may judge from some of the statistics which I have seen, the Government of this province is faced with a task compared with which the labours of Hercules were mere child's play. If, however, it is approached both by the Executive and the Legislature in the spirit which animates your address, it should be possible, with God's help, to achieve some real and lasting benefits for the people of Bengal.

Address presented by the Bengal Moslem Federation, on 30th March 1922.

We, the members of the Bengal Moslem Federation, on behalf of ourselves and of the community which we have the honour to represent, beg to offer Your Excellency our hearty welcome on Your Excellency's arrival in this Province and on Your Excellency's assumption of the reins of administration of this Presidency. The *Khilafat* question over which the feelings of the Muhammadans are agitated in this Province, as in the other parts of the world, has all along received and is receiving sympathetic consideration from the Government of Bengal as well as from the Government of India, and this naturally leads us to expect the same consideration from Your Excellency whom God has chosen as the representative in this Province of the greatest Muhammadan power of the world. Though the Mussalman predominate over the other communities in number in the Province, and though in matters educational and political they have made immense progress within the last few years, their position in the Province is not yet what it should be in order to satisfy their just and legitimate aspirations. The success of the Reforms in the Province requires a careful and sympathetic consideration of Moslem interests and in particular of the problems of Muhammadan education and Muhammadan representation in all public bodies and

public services in the Province, and we feel assured that the interests of our community will receive such consideration from Your Excellency. Though Your Excellency will have to face many difficulties in the course of Your Excellency's administration of the Province, we are confident Your Excellency's efforts to give effect to the legitimate aspirations of the different communities in the Province and thereby to lead this Province to a fuller measure of responsible government will be crowned with success. We trust that the period of Your Excellency's Governorship will be happy and prosperous both for Bengal and for Your Excellency and Her Excellency Lady Lytton to whom we beg that Your Excellency will convey our respectful welcome.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Address of the
Bengal Moslem Federation, on 30th March
1922.***

GENTLEMEN,

I am very glad to receive from you so cordial a welcome on behalf of the Muhammadans of Bengal, and I sincerely hope that you will never have cause to complain of my attitude towards the important community which you represent.

You have spoken of the *Khilafat* question and reminded me of what, of course, I was already aware, that the Government of Bengal had throughout supported the Government of India in the attitude which it has adopted towards this question. Let me assure you that, not only have all the Governments of India—Provincial as well as Central—been united on this subject, but their representations have always been accepted and endorsed by the Secretary of State and his Council in London. I can speak from intimate personal knowledge in this matter, for I have discussed it with the Secretary of State on many occasions. I have seen all the correspondence that has passed about it between the Secretary of State and both the present Viceroy and his predecessor, and I assisted in the drafting of many of the representations which the Secretary of State has never ceased during the last three years to make to the

'Imperial Government on the subject. It was, indeed, the very zeal with which Mr. Montagu championed your interests that has led to his resignation since I left England. It is difficult for me to convey to you the disappointment and distress with which I have learnt of the resignation of a chief to whom I was not only bound by strong ties of personal affection, but one also in whom I recognized the best friend that India has had for many years. I have been looking forward to co-operating with him in many matters which we had discussed together, and the desire to be helpful to him at this end was one of my motives in accepting the Governorship of this Province when he pressed it upon me. Though I can no longer do that, I shall at least do all that is in my power to make better understood his real love of India, for in this I do not think he has received a full measure of justice from his contemporaries.

I am glad, therefore, of this opportunity of telling you how strenuously he sought to serve the interests of the community which you represent and of assuring you that from myself you will also find at all times a very sympathetic attention.

You have spoken in your address of the necessity for special protection for Muhammadan interests in educational and political matters. I can assure you that I would never willingly consent to any action which would discriminate unfairly against your community, but I must tell you frankly that I view with regret and dislike the

communal representation of any religious communities, and the insistence upon the necessity for selecting individuals to fill administrative posts on grounds of either race or creed. In the present stage of constitutional development in India it is necessary, I know, to do this for a time, but I would plead with you, as with other communities, to help to hasten the day when all such discriminations will be abolished.

I thank you once more for your address.

His Excellency's Speech at the Bengal Legislative Council, on 31st March 1922.

GENTLEMEN,

I have read with great pleasure the extremely kind references to Lady Lytton and myself which were made by many speakers in this Council two days ago, and I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the generous and kindly way in which you have welcomed us on our arrival in Calcutta. I have only a few words to address to you this afternoon. It is not possible for me to make a general review of the session which is about to close or to offer any comments upon its work. I am informed that it is the longest on record and that more work has been done than in any previous session. If that is so, I congratulate you on having arrived at the end of your strenuous labours, as well as on the excellent work which you have accomplished. I also desire to express to you my thanks for the financial provision which you have made for my Government. The proposals of the Budget, which they were obliged to submit to you, could not have been pleasant ones to you. You subjected them to a very searching examination and criticism, and finally passed three taxation Bills which covered the deficit which had been disclosed and made provision for the coming year. I greatly appreciate your action in voting these Bills.

Beyond this I cannot speak of a session with which, till now, I have had no official connection, but I have come here to prorogue the Council this afternoon, because I wanted to take the first available opportunity of making your acquaintance and of assuring you of my desire to co-operate with you in the closest possible way in every department of Government. I am well aware that under the present Constitution I occupy a peculiarly difficult position, as I am responsible to two different authorities. For all the acts of my Executive Council in reserved departments I am still responsible to the Imperial Parliament through the Secretary of State, and for the acts of my Ministers in transferred departments, I am now, with them, responsible solely to you. Between you and me neither the Viceroy nor the Secretary of State nor the Imperial Parliament can intervene in such matters. Now I have always been brought up in the belief that no man can serve two masters, and suddenly I find myself called upon to do this very thing. It occurs to me, therefore, that it can only be done by making the two masters one as far as possible. In other words, I shall use my utmost efforts to secure your general approval and co-operation in the administration of reserved subjects and to satisfy Parliament through the Secretary of State that I have confidence in my Ministers and in their administration. In pursuing this policy I hope I may count on your assistance and support.

There is only one specific matter arising out of the business of this session to which I will refer, and I do so because I am called upon to come to a decision upon it myself, and it will serve as an illustration of what I have just been saying. I am informed that there are one or two small items of expenditure which the Council had approved earlier in the year and which were subsequently rejected in the belief that owing to the improved political situation they were no longer necessary. I am referring to certain proposals for strengthening the Calcutta Mounted Police and also to the provision of some temporary jail accommodation. Now part of the expenditure covered by the vote which was rejected had already actually been incurred. The money was spent in perfect good faith after the Legislative Council had been consulted and their approval obtained. I do not think that the matter was clearly understood by the Council when they were asked to vote for a lump sum in the Budget under the head of "Measures to meet the Political situation." The result is that the funds required to pay for expenditure which has actually been incurred, have been refused by a majority of one in this Council and that is the situation which I find on my arrival. If no opportunity is available for a reconsideration of the matter, I shall have no option but to restore these small items under the powers of Section 72D (2) (a) of the Government of India Act; but equally I did not wish to do this without explaining my action to you.

Whether or not any opportunity will be available to you for a reconsideration of the vote I am not yet aware. I have not had much time in which to take advice on the point. But as this is the only occasion I shall have of addressing you on the present session, I desired to explain that I could not leave the Government without the means of fulfilling its obligations.

In conclusion, I desire to express my sympathy with the President in the continued illness which has kept him absent throughout the session. This has involved a very heavy burden of work upon the Deputy President, and I feel sure that the Council has appreciated the hard work which he has done.

The Council now stands prorogued.

*Address presented by the European Association,
on 11th April 1922.*

On behalf of the non-official European community, whose interests the European Association was founded to represent and protect, and especially those who are resident in Calcutta and Bengal, we, the Council of the European Association, desire to take this opportunity of welcoming you to Calcutta to occupy the high position of Governor of Bengal.

2. This Association represents a varied and extensive constituency. Its members are drawn from the large European population of the great cities, from the planters in the remote districts, the mining and working managers, and others engaged in the development of India's industrial wealth. Many make India their home and represent several generations of labour here, whilst the majority, after spending the greater portion of their lives in India, are succeeded by representatives of their family. In this connection it is pleasing to recall that Your Excellency is no exception to this rule. It is little more than half a century since your illustrious father occupied the exalted position of Viceroy during the period memorable in the history of this country by the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India.

3. This opportunity is taken of setting forth the aims of this Association, namely—

The maintenance of British rights in India by all constitutional means.

The protection of European minorities throughout India from aggression—be it racial or otherwise.

The more practical recognition of kinship with the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled community and the fostering of a relationship of cordiality and co-operation with those Indians who are working constructively for the good of India.

4. The members of this Association are deeply interested in the welfare of India, and are anxious for the political and social development of the country on the basis of the orderly evolution of the Reform Scheme which is at present under trial, for they believe that it is in close co-operation with all loyal Indians that the best interests of the members of this Association lie.

5. We are particularly happy in having this early opportunity of meeting Your Excellency, for the execution of our duties brings us much into touch with your Government, and we are desirous of removing, as soon as possible, any misapprehension which may have entered your mind, while acting as His Majesty's Under-Secretary of State for India, as to this Association being hostile to, or desirous of retarding, the national aspirations of the country towards self-government.

6. The Government of India and the various Provincial Governments recognize this Association as one of the Public Bodies whose opinions should be consulted on measures under consideration, and it is our constant endeavour, whilst frankly criticising the action and policy of the Government, to give that assistance which the European community can afford to the Government, also to promote to the best of our ability the advancement of the Indian Empire, and foster a spirit of loyalty to the Crown.

7. We trust that Your Excellency's term of office will be a happy one, and that the difficulties and misunderstandings which have distracted India, in particular during the past two years, will be speedily dispelled.

8. Assuring Your Excellency at all times of any assistance the European Association may be able to offer.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Address from the
European Association, on 11th April 1922.***

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you for the kind words of welcome which you have addressed to me. I was, of course, aware of the existence of your Association before I came to India, but I am probably better able to appreciate its aims and objects now that I am myself one of the community which you represent than I was when in London. It is very natural that the British who live in India—some as officials, some as soldiers, some as merchants and traders—should feel more strongly than they do at home the common bond of race and the need for an Association which will represent their common interests whenever they are involved. Individuals come and go, but the community remains. In so far as you represent the needs of that community as distinct from the individuals who may compose it at any particular moment, you have a permanent, not a transient, interest in the welfare of the country. You can, therefore, take a long view and you are concerned equally with the Indians in its efficient administration and economic prosperity. Your interests in this respect being identical, co-operation with Indians is not only possible, but essential. This fact you recognise in your address and I welcome most heartily the assurance you have given me that your Association is neither hostile to the national aspirations of the Indian

demonstration work on Government farms or as instructors in schools designed to teach the sons of cultivators how they may improve their own holdings. It is here, I think, that we are most deficient at present. What is chiefly needed is, I suggest, an agricultural institute at Dacca in close touch with the Government farm there, but in this matter we shall welcome your suggestions and assistance.

Having sketched out what appear to me to be the main duties and functions of a Government department, let me refer briefly to some of the subjects which you propose to discuss. They cover a very wide range, and I have no doubt that most of you have made a speciality of one branch or another; and yet they are so interdependent that no one subject can really be divorced from the rest, each must be discussed in its relations to the other cognate interests.

In my tours the claims of the people for agricultural education, for industrial and technical schools, and for agricultural farms have been severally urged upon me, and wherever such institutions already existed I have made a point of visiting them and seeing at first hand the work they are doing. We desire to see these institutions increased and developed, but as I have pointed out progress in such a matter must be conditioned by the provision of a trained staff. In the meanwhile the organization of Agricultural Associations would go some way towards securing the desired result; as by this means it will be possible to bring the cultivators into touch with the scientific work of the Agricultural Department, and by demonstrating the advantages of improved methods to induce them

to adopt them on their own holdings. I have seen some of the results of such organizations in Western Bengal, and I was much impressed with their possibilities.

I am interested to see that two of the resolutions recommend to Government that the commercial aspect of farming should be demonstrated and that it should be shown that farming, whether on a small or a large scale, can be made to pay. The former, I presume, needs no demonstration, as the greater part of the population of Bengal depends on agriculture for its livelihood; but it would certainly be interesting to see how far large scale farming can be made to pay. I believe that experiments have already been made in certain parts of the Sundarbans and farming forms the basis of various schemes for the solution of the unemployment problem among the middle classes; I have no doubt that this conference will be able to give Government useful advice on this subject.

Another important problem on which your advice will be of value is that of improving the breed of cattle. I was at Rangpur in March and saw the cattle farm there, where important progress has been made in evolving the best breed of cow for milking purposes, and I imagine that where your advice will be most welcome will be in showing on what lines the results of these experiments can be brought to the knowledge of the farming population.

I notice that the Co-operative Department have tabled one very important resolution, that, namely, which recommends the development of special forms of co-operative societies. Until quite a few

years ago the idea appeared to be prevalent in India that the co-operative principle could be or need be applied only to credit; but with a greater understanding of the system and the principles underlying it, people have come to realize that it can be extended to other activities, such as irrigation, weaving, distribution and so on. From what I myself saw of the work of the irrigation societies in Bankura and Birbhum districts I can sympathize with your desire to increase the staff of those who can advise and direct your efforts, and I have no doubt that the resolution on this subject will be carried in spite of the fact that the Retrenchment Committee recently recommended not an increase, but a reduction, in the number of these officials.

In the Industries Department you have four resolutions down for discussion. One of these invites Government's attention to the need of assisting minor industries. The Hon'ble Minister has under consideration the introduction of a Bill to effect this object, but one difficulty will be to decide which industries require assistance and the nature and extent of such assistance, and upon this point your suggestions will be welcomed. Another resolution emphasizes the importance of research as an aid to industrial development. I mentioned this matter at the conference two years ago, and I may repeat that in industries, as in agriculture, the first function of a Government Department must be to undertake research and experimental work and to place the results at the disposal of the public. I understand that the Director of Industries proposes the establishment of a Board for co-ordinating the efforts of the various scientific departments

and for utilizing to the best advantage such facilities and expert knowledge as are available in the province.

I have touched quite briefly upon some of the matters which you will discuss. I have no doubt that most of these resolutions will be carried, but I trust that you will do more than merely pass resolutions in favour of expenditure by Government. I notice that almost everyone of your resolutions would involve very heavy additional expenditure, and it would be impossible to give effect to them all. I hope, therefore, that in discussing these resolutions you will keep this very practical aspect of the question in mind and indicate what in your opinion are their relative importance, so that they may be taken up in the most useful order of priority as and when funds are available.

With these words, I declare the conference open and surrender the Chair to the Hon'ble Minister. I wish you all success in your deliberations.

His Excellency's Speech at the Calcutta University Convocation, on 5th July 1924.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is customary at this our annual Convocation for the Vice-Chancellor to review the work of the preceding academic year and to report on the progress of the University during that period. This year that programme must unhappily be modified. Your Vice-Chancellor, owing to ill-health, cannot be with us to-day and though I have been able to perform the duty of administering the degrees which he has been accustomed to undertake in the past, yet I cannot hope, and for various reasons shall not attempt, to replace him in other respects and to give that *resume* of the University's achievements during the year to which Vice-Chancellors have in past years accustomed us. But there is one feature of the customary Vice-Chancellor's speech which I cannot and must not pass by—I must preface my remarks by a reference to those colleagues and fellow-workers whom death has taken from our midst during the past year. This year in particular the sense of loss is necessarily uppermost in our minds—to the exclusion almost of every other consideration.

Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri was a member of the Senate of the University for many years in the first decade of the century and recently after a long absence from that body resumed his connection in 1921. He was one of those many prominent men

whom Presidency College has given to the public life of Bengal. Though Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri made his mark more as a lawyer and a politician, he was a bold thinker and originator in matters educational whom our University can ill afford to lose, and his death has left us the poorer.

The next loss to which I must refer is one which is shared both by the Government and the University. Dr. Theodore Oliver Douglas Dunn was a scholar whose literary abilities had been recently recognized by his own University of Glasgow and whose administrative capacity had but one short month before his tragic death been recognized by the Government of Bengal in his appointment to the highest educational post within its disposal. His death at a time when both the University and the Government of Bengal need all the trained educational knowledge and ability at their disposal to aid them in their common task of securing the future of the University was a real loss to the province in general and to the University in particular.

By the death of these two men many of us have lost personal friends whom we shall not easily forget, but their places will be taken by others and their work will be carried on. There is one loss, however—the most recent—which dominates our minds to-day, one place in the University left vacant by death which no one else can ever fill—the work of one man terminated which no other single man can carry on. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, five times Vice-Chancellor, he who to the student and the general public represented—nay, *was*—the University, is no longer with us, and these walls.

which have so often echoed to his eloquent Convocation speeches, will never hear again his resounding and masterful voice. His death has created a feeling akin to consternation for it is not merely an important piece of the structure of the University which has fallen out, it is as if the whole structure itself had collapsed.

I shall not attempt to perform again that duty which the Senate of the University carried out under my presidency in June last on behalf of the whole body of the University and its students. On that occasion I paid my personal tribute to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, and the Senate placed on record in dignified and fitting language its deep appreciation of his devoted work for this University. That tribute is doubtless well known to you since it was reported very fully in the Press. Less well known to you, perhaps, is the tribute which his colleagues in the Syndicate paid to him. It sums up what those who worked with him week by week on the administrative body of the University thought of their leader. It was a finely expressed tribute, worthy of Sir Asutosh, and I should like to quote it as nothing can better express the admiration which his colleagues felt for him and the dismay with which they contemplate the future without him.

“We, the members of the Syndicate, in a special meeting convened for the purpose, place on record an expression of our profound grief at the death of our revered colleague, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. As Vice-Chancellor or as an advisory

member of the Syndicate, he had been intimately associated with its work since 1889. For 35 years he placed his outstanding intellectual powers and his unrivalled energy ungrudgingly at the service of his colleagues, thereby enabling them to carry out a task which year by year became more difficult, laborious and exacting. The remarkable developments in the work of the University during the last two decades, which it was our privilege as the representatives of the Senate to direct, were largely the product not only of his constructive genius, but of the selfless, incessant and devoted toil, which he brought to his task as a member of our body. The personal and private sorrow which we each individually feel at the loss of our distinguished colleague is intensified by our keen sense of the irreparable injury to our work which will be caused by the absence of his indefatigable energy, his directive skill and his unique knowledge and experience. In paying our sorrowful tribute of respect to the friend, colleague and leader whom we have lost, and in placing on record our profound admiration for the services rendered to the cause of education by the work which he accomplished as a member of our body, we express the hope that the memory of his devoted labours may inspire those of us who remain and those who follow us, to imitate his great example, and dedicate all the powers

which they possess to the service of their University and to the achievement of that object for which he lived, the advancement of learning amongst the people of his motherland."

These words, I feel sure, express the sentiments of the whole of Bengal and I can say nothing which would add to their eloquence or their sincerity.

I must next express my deep regret that our Vice-Chancellor, the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, is unable to be present at this Convocation. I wish also to express my personal indebtedness to him for the courage, public spirit and unselfish disregard of his own comfort which induced him and at a time when he was burdened with domestic sorrows and handicapped by indifferent health to take on the arduous duties of the office of Vice-Chancellor instead of enjoying that peace and comfort in retirement to which his age and his long record of public service entitled him. He assumed the office at a particularly difficult moment and in the 15 months that he has held it he has by his tact and wisdom won the affectionate regard of all his colleagues. We all deplore his absence to-day. Had his health permitted him to be present I feel sure he would have indicated to us, in the clearest possible language, his views on the needs of our University and the measures necessary to secure for it a future at once dignified, free from financial worry, and beneficial to the cultural and political life of Bengal. In his absence I do not propose to enter into a discussion of the many problems, financial, educational and administrative, which are facing the University. The future is not

very clear and, in the absence of a controlling hand is likely to become yet more obscure. But I can and must make one statement, specific and unequivocal. In both the capacities in which I have relations with you, whether as your Chancellor or as Governor of the province, I have one desire and one desire only—to assist you to extricate yourselves from your difficulties as soon as possible, to establish and maintain friendly relations between the University and the Government, and to broaden your financial stability on the foundation of a reciprocal understanding which shall have its roots in mutual trust and be free from any suspicion of restraint or domination. As regards the deficit disclosed in your last budget, we are pledged to its liquidation. That pledge we shall honour in due course and the only reason why no provision for this purpose has yet been made in this year's budget is because we are still awaiting that detailed statement of your liabilities for which we have asked to enable us to determine the exact amount of the assistance you require. Do not let any one suggest that the Government of Bengal cannot afford to support its Universities or that it has any wish to curtail their academic freedom as the price of its assistance. There is no foundation for either suggestion. With good will and mutual confidence let us unite in the common task of ensuring the future of Calcutta University both as an examining body, and as a home of advanced learning and research.

In the latter capacity the University has in the last year received a valuable recognition. Let me take this opportunity of congratulating you on the

Fellowship of the Royal Society which has added lustre to the name of Professor Raman and incidentally to that of the University. I recognize with pleasure and admiration the large volume of research work which the Post-Graduate Department is in its various departments constantly publishing. For the moment, however, I feel that the main work to be done in connection with the research and advanced teaching of the University is consolidation. We must make sure of our gains with a view to further advance later on. Its financial basis is unsound. We must stabilise it. I have already made the suggestion that the truest memorial to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's name—the one which he would most have preferred—would be an endowment raised for this department as a tribute to his memory. In this task Government will not shirk its share. But I think that in the uncertain problems of the future Sir Asutosh would have preferred to see his beloved University Post-Graduate Department placed as far beyond the reach of Government's influence as possible by being independently endowed. On this point Bengal will in due course indicate its wishes by the response which it makes to any appeal the Senate's Committee may issue. If the Post-Graduate Department becomes firmly established and endowed, as I hope it soon may, then it will be easier for us to concentrate our attention upon those problems of the University which centre round the colleges. The University's advanced work is as it were the flower and fruit which grows on the topmost branches of the tree. But we must not neglect the condition of the trunk and the

root. Let us beware lest we seek to grow fruit on a tree whose trunk is barked and whose roots are dry. You may water the topmost branches as much as you like, but in that case nothing will grow. So I would make to you all the double appeal. Let us co-operate in consolidating the position gained for advanced studies by the University under the guidance of Sir Asutosh, and let us remember that an essential corollary of that work of consolidation must be a careful examination and strengthening of the supports on which that advanced position is based. In that great task money will also be required and Government will do its share; but money alone will not be sufficient. If we are to succeed we must put aside all other considerations than that of the welfare of the students for whom we are responsible, and with single minds and united efforts resolve to be satisfied with nothing less than the best which it is in our power to give them.

To those students let me now say a few words of congratulation and encouragement. To-day the University formally sets its seal on the work which last year it accomplished on behalf of the hundreds of young men and women who have to-day received their certificates, and of those other hundreds who are unable to be present to receive them. At Oxford and Cambridge we should say that the University sends them forth to serve God in Church and State, and certifies them to be fit for such service. For some of you, I trust, there is in store a brilliant career leading to high opportunities of service to your country. For others, there will be, perhaps, but a humble *niche* and a limited sphere of

work. I am aware that in present conditions the minds of most of you must be dominated by the fear that in the crowded state of the market to-day you may fail to secure scope for your energies commensurate with your abilities. I congratulate you on your success and I sympathize with your anxieties. But to all of you I would say, whatever your future may be, whether you are destined to be great or humble, remember that you begin life in debt, and that it is your duty no less than your privilege to repay that debt. That is, perhaps, a new and startling thought to you. I am not referring to the state of your purses nor to your banking accounts. I am not referring either to the latest budget of the University! What I mean is this. For some 15 or 20 years your country has, through various agencies—the school, the college, the University—spent on the task of educating you to an advanced standard money which it badly needs for primary education and other work among the masses of the country. You received your education under the auspices of this University at monthly fees varying in amount, but in all cases low owing to the fact that the community has, either through public or private agencies, contributed towards keeping down the cost. Was it worth it? Has the community or the State made a good or a bad bargain in turning you into graduates with money which might have helped to maintain a primary school and spread literacy in the villages? It is for you in the years to come to provide the answer to that question. 'Are you going to pay back in unpaid social service the debt which you have contracted to your country? Bengal is crying out for men who can

serve her in various ways. For instance, no one who leaves this hall to-day ought to rest content if, when he takes up his future work, he finds that the area in which he lives is insufficiently provided with either the necessities of life or those minor comforts by which the standard of living among the masses may be raised.

If you do nothing else you will at least each one of you contribute to the formation of the public opinion in the centre in which you live. Your education has taught you, it is to be hoped, to think for yourselves, and not to be led away by every wind of political or social emotion. By passing on to other less fortunate than yourselves in places remote from the culture available in a University, that wider outlook which the University should have given you, if it has not failed in its duty towards you, you can repay some of that debt which you have contracted by your years of study in the colleges affiliated to this University.

I see before me many young men and women who are on the threshold of life and whom it has been my pleasant privilege to crown to-day with the rewards of their years of study. The thought uppermost in my mind is how vast are the opportunities for service which await them in this country—above all how great are the opportunities that await the *women* graduates for they can carry the fruits of their education into homes which can be reached in no other way. So long as the light from the lamp of learning is stopped by the *purdah* and does not penetrate to those who shelter behind its veil the task of educating a nation cannot be said to have even begun. This vision of the benefits

which you can confer upon your countrymen by the gifts of learning that you have acquired, fills my mind and suggests the message which I leave with you to-day. I do not presume to offer you advice. Advice, as I have said elsewhere, is easy to give and easy to forget. I do but remind you that the hall-mark of the University which you are receiving to-day carries with it duties and responsibilities as well as privileges—responsibilities which you cannot escape, duties which you cannot ignore without being branded with that kind of dishonour which attaches to the man who can, but does not pay his lawful debts. Never in the world's history was a country in such need of honest unselfish workers—social, medical, educational, political—as is Bengal to-day. In the hope and in the belief that you will do your share, I wish you all godspeed in the life that lies before you.

And to the Administrators, Professors and Lecturers of the University and its affiliated colleges, I would say: Are you doing your duty by these young men and women whom you annually certify to have passed the tests which you impose upon them? These young people are going out, as their predecessors have gone before them, to live in various parts of Bengal, and to be wherever they may be found living, examples of what Calcutta University does for its students. Have you merely sharpened their memories and filled their minds with the ideas of other thinkers or are you sending them out sound thinkers themselves competent to assist in the formation of wise views of life and conduct in the area to which they go? Are they well equipped with an outlook which will enable

them to find happiness and to be reasonably content in whatever surroundings it may please God to place them? Have you let them meet each other for the first and only time in the examination hall or have you so mingled them together in all the activities of their University that caste and creed present no barrier to social, intellectual and political friendship? Have you interested them in life and equipped them with a high conception of the meaning of intellectual enjoyment? Have you taught them so to understand the past that they can walk confidently among the problems of the present and march boldly towards the future? Have you taught them to co-operate with their fellows for the general good or merely to quarrel with them? Have you sent them forth with straight backs, confident self-reliance and clear vision? In short, have you prepared them for life or only for the desk?

I ask these questions, but I do not answer them. It is for you, their leaders and teachers, to examine yourselves, frequently and carefully, asking yourselves these very necessary questions, and if an honest answer has to admit defects in the preparation for life which you have been able to give to those entrusted to your care, I would urge you to set yourselves conscientiously and fearlessly to work to remove these defects. As man does not live by bread alone, so too a University should not live by learning alone, but by every activity affecting the training of the human mind and spirit which can be done in its name. Annually we certify that a young man knows so much History or Physics or Mathematics or Economics. That is a written

certificate referring only to written work. But in the ideal University that which is unwritten is as important as that which is written. Let us so watch ourselves, let us so meticulously review and improve our work, let us so constantly aim at the highest ideal of University life that the written certificate should carry with it an unwritten one which the world will accept and honour: and if we do not fail in our duty, that unwritten parchment should testify that throughout the period of his connection with the University the student has been in contact with agencies and influences designed to train to their highest possible capacity his spiritual, intellectual, physical and moral qualities. Then will you be able to say and the outside world will agree with you that if your student has failed to become a good comrade, a rational level-headed thinker, a healthy and methodical worker and a good citizen, the fault lies in the man himself and not in the system which produced him. When you can conscientiously assert that of your failures then you may claim to have fulfilled your mission and to be satisfied with your University. Till then I claim your co-operation in the task which lies before us and your vigilant unremitting attention to any shortcomings which, judged by such a standard you may find in the system which you administer.

His Excellency's Speech at the Vigilance Association Meeting, on 7th July 1924.

MY LORD BISHOP, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

There are several distinguished and eloquent speakers who will address you this evening and I shall not, therefore, occupy your time with more than a very few words from the chair. In what I have to say I have but two objects, the first is to explain to you the object of this meeting, and the second is to associate myself with the appeal for funds which will be addressed to you by the subsequent speakers.

This meeting has been called in order to make known to you a condition of affairs in this great city of Calcutta in which we all live which is probably not known to many and which, if it were known to all, would not be tolerated for a year. The actual facts are set out in the special appeal, copies of which will be found in your places. You will see from that appeal that from 1,600 to 2,000 girls—children I might say—of from 9 to 13 years of age, are being kept in Calcutta for immoral purposes. Two thousand miserable little slaves sold helplessly, unwillingly, unknowingly to a life of degradation and misery. Now the first thing I have to ask you is, did you know that? Probably not, I cannot believe that any decent, honest, chivalrous, kind-hearted man or woman could know that appalling fact and be indifferent to it? My next question is now that you do know it, will you help to put an end to such a condition? I cannot

conceive that any of you will say "no"—because that would be making yourselves responsible for it.

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not know what sort of fairy stories, legends or ballads Indian children are told, but in my country we were told as children tales of knights who slew fierce dragons and rescued lovely maidens, we were told of witches and demons and wicked people who persecuted the ignorant, the feeble and the helpless, and of brave heroes who came to the rescue and snatched their victims from the clutches of these workers of evil. I have no doubt that you have in India legends of the same kind and that by means of them you seek to inspire in your children a feeling of chivalry, of sympathy with the weak and the suffering, of hatred for oppression. Could you go home from this meeting and say to your children or your grand-children—I have been told to-night a story of oppression that is taking place in this very city of Calcutta at this very moment and I took the side of the oppressor. I have been told of a hideous evil by some good people who wanted to remove it and I sided with the evil rather than with the good. I was shown a dragon that was devouring 2,000 young Indian girls every year and I was offered a sword with which I could kill it, but I threw away the sword and I left the dragon to continue his feast? No, ladies and gentlemen, you could not do that. Now that you know the facts which are being revealed to you to-night you cannot refuse to help or you would never be able to look a child in the face again. What you will probably say is—I should like to help, but I do not know how to. Well, that is what this

meeting has been called to show you. The papers in your seats and the speeches you will hear will tell you not only what the evil is, but also how with your help it can be removed.

In the first place, the facts I have just mentioned are no new discovery—they have been known for many years and several stalwart and chivalrous champions have been preparing their plans to provide a remedy. Until last year the law itself was found defective, but the Calcutta suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, which was passed last year, has remedied that defect and has conferred upon the police the necessary powers of removing these unfortunate minor girls from their surroundings. The police are willing, the law allows, “then what more,” you may ask, “is required”? The answer is there is no home to which these girls can be taken, in which they can be lodged, until such time as situations, employment or permanent homes can be found for them. This then is the task that the Calcutta Vigilance Association—an admirable body too little supported, I fear, as yet, have set themselves—the provision of a Rescue Home—and towards the carrying out of which they earnestly solicit the help of all public-minded citizens of Calcutta. To make the Act operative and supply the necessary clearing house, it is estimated that one lakh of rupees will be required. Those who will follow me will supply you with further particulars and add weight to the appeal.

I have now fulfilled my first object which was, to explain the purpose of the meeting. My second, I said, was to associate myself with the appeal. But is that necessary after what I have already said?

Can any one doubt where my sympathy would be in such a movement? Ladies and gentlemen, I have children of my own, children who are very dear to me, and the thought that one of them might have been kidnapped and sold into the hideous slavery which is now the fate of these 2,000 young girls makes me shiver with horror: not only that—it makes me burn with indignation and wild with impatience to come to the rescue without a moment's delay.

I have only one more word to say, that is to express to you Lady Lytton's great regret that she has been prevented by the slight, and I hope temporary, illness of our daughter from attending this meeting. She is in sympathy heart and soul with its object. If it were possible she would feel even more impatient than I do to supply the remedy and she has asked me to assure Mrs. Stanley and her fellow-workers that they may count on her at all times to do whatever lies in her power to help them.

Ladies and gentlemen, once more I put before you the alternatives between which you are invited to choose. On the one hand this monstrous soul-devouring dragon, on the other, its 2,000 helpless little victims, and those who have constituted themselves their champions. You cannot hesitate for a moment. Let there be no delay. Let this single meeting decide the issue.

His Excellency's Speech at the Sheriff's Meeting of condolence on death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, on 11th July 1924.

GENTLEMEN,

This meeting of the citizens of Calcutta has been summoned to enable them to record their sorrow at the loss which they have suffered in the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, a man of outstanding ability who had distinguished himself in many branches of public life and who at the time of his death was the most outstanding personality in Bengal.

I have already on two previous occasions paid my tribute to Sir Asutosh's work in connection with Calcutta University and I have also expressed my own opinion as to the most fitting memorial to his memory. I need not, therefore, repeat here what I have already said elsewhere on those subjects. But besides being a great Vice-Chancellor and the creator of the teaching branch of Calcutta University, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was distinguished in many other ways, and it is of some of these that I wish to speak on this occasion.

If evidence were needed of his outstanding abilities, the tremendous vigour and versatility of his mind and of the great respect in which he was held, it could be found in the numerous meetings of condolence which have been held all over the

country by countless societies and bodies of many of which he was an active member or patron. Those societies and bodies dwelt mainly upon the aspects of their great leader and inspirer with which they were primarily concerned. To-day we are concerned with them all, and there are speakers on this platform who knew him in different capacities and who can testify to his ability on all of them.

As he was such a conspicuous figure in public life, we are apt to forget that his scholastic attainments were very considerable and he had a most distinguished University career. I need not recite the various academic distinctions which he gained in whatever subject he took up—Mathematics, Science or Law; he began his career as a Mathematician and, in spite of his other absorbing cares, he maintained to the last his special interest in this subject in which he was pre-eminent. If he was a scholar in the restricted sense of the word, far more was he a scholar in the wider deeper sense—a lover of knowledge and research. As “Advancement of Learning” was the motto of his University, so was it his own watchword, it was his guiding star through life, whatever contributed to the sum of man’s knowledge—to the advancement of learning—was to him good and so it was that he confined himself to no one subject, no narrow school of thought, but insisted on the necessity of making contact with intellectual progress throughout the world. Thus it was, too, that he associated himself so actively and so intimately with learned societies which had for their object

the promotion of knowledge; his connection with them was not merely a paper one, but he took a keen and personal interest in their affairs and management, and identified himself absolutely with their objects. It will be sufficient to mention here the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which he was a member for 38 years and four times President, and various Sanskrit congresses and conferences in the conduct of which he took a leading part.

His abilities as a lawyer soon brought him to the front rank of that profession. He was appointed a Judge of the High Court at the age of 43 and he occupied this post for 20 years; here also, as in his other activities, he established a reputation for brilliance and profound learning.

In spite of the manifold calls upon his time which his varied interest involved, he still found the leisure and the will to participate in politics before his promotion to the High Court Bench and he was a member of the Bengal or Indian Legislative Council for six years. Had he been spared he would no doubt have resumed his activities in this direction after his retirement from the Bench. If he had done so, he would soon have attained a commanding position, for he was marked out for leadership in any sphere.

Gentlemen, much could be said in appreciation of Sir Asutosh in all these capacities, but his great qualities, his great personality, his independence of character are so well known to all that it is unnecessary for me to dwell on them longer. The other speakers who follow will, I have no doubt,

emphasize the different aspects of his character, and the resolutions which are to be proposed will give expression to the feeling of respect and admiration in which Calcutta held him. In conclusion, I will only say how glad I am, as the Governor of the province, to have an opportunity of associating myself with his fellow-countrymen in paying tribute to his memory.

***His Excellency's Address to the Reclplants
of Sanads at the Durbar at Dacca, on
4th August 1924.***

NAWAB SAIYID NAWAB ALI CHAUDHURI BAHADUR,

It has never before been my pleasant privilege to deliver the *sanad* of a title to anyone who has been so closely associated with me in the actual work of administration as you have been, and I am glad to have this opportunity in the presence of your peers and fellow-countrymen of thanking you publicly for the loyal help which you gave to me personally and of paying a tribute to the service which you rendered to your country at a most important epoch in its history.

You have long been an outstanding figure in the public life of Bengal and your community has always regarded you as one of their most trusted leaders. It was in the fitness of things, therefore, that you should have been appointed the first Muhammadan Minister of Bengal. In this capacity you strove zealously and conscientiously to promote the interests of the departments committed to your charge. You faced, without fear or discouragement, the abuse and opposition of those who insist that the new constitution has conferred no benefits upon India, and the success with which you carried out your duties was recognized at the last election by those whom you represent and has increased the confidence with which you are regarded by the Muhammadans of Bengal.

As my colleague for nearly two years you gave me very valuable assistance. I can testify that in our intercourse you never surrendered your independence nor swerved from what you considered to be your duty. Whilst seeking to promote the interests of your own community you were always fair to the claims of other communities. You were prompted, I am convinced, by an honest desire to promote your country's good, and you pursued your own convictions without fear or partiality. I trust that in an unofficial capacity you will not desert the causes which you so manfully and successfully defended in office.

I congratulate you on the title which has now been added to your previous distinctions, and I hope that you may long be spared to enjoy it and to give to your countrymen the benefit of your wise counsel and ripe experience.

RAJA JANAKI NATH RAY,

You belong to the Bhagyakul family which has become a household word throughout Bengal for charity and public generosity.

You received the title of Rai Bahadur in 1913, and your public activities and your generosity since then have justly earned for you the title of Raja which has now been conferred upon you as a personal distinction. During the great war you took an active part in war work to which you contributed Rs. 30,000, besides investing largely in War Loans. You further contributed Rs. 50,000 towards the improvement of the Mitford Hospital here in Dacca and subscribed liberally to the

Cyclone Relief Fund. The people of this district especially have reason to be grateful to you and your family for your public spirit, and the appreciation of Government is shown by the title which is now bestowed upon you.

While Bengal mourns the loss of your brother, Raja Srinath Ray, it rejoices in the honour done to you, and is confident that you will carry on the high traditions of your family.

May you live long to enjoy your new title and to benefit your fellow-countrymen whom you have served so well.

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT KRISHNA CHARAN TARKALANKAR,

Your commentaries in Sanskrit on the Smritis of Raghunandan are unsurpassed for their erudition and lucidity, for the amount of rare and valuable information which they contain, and for the purity of style in which they are composed. You are regarded as a leading authority in Eastern Bengal on Hindu Law and rituals and you have taught, and are teaching, pupils in this subject free of charge. Over 30 years ago you obtained the title of Tarkalankar at the hands of Pandits of Nadia and you have won your present distinction by your special proficiency in the subject and by the original research work you have done. I congratulate you on this recognition of your services to literature and learning.

RAI BAHADURS,

It gives me great pleasure to deliver to you the *sanads* of the titles which have been conferred

upon you in recognition of your services to your country.

RAI NALINI NATH BANARJI BAHADUR,

In addition to your responsible duties as Government Pleader, you have done magnificent work as Honorary Secretary of the Chandpur Co-operative Bank and Honorary Organizer of Co-operative Societies in that subdivision. You have consistently exerted your influence for the real good of your fellow-countrymen and have combated successfully the forces of disorder.

RAI SHIV CHARAN DAS MEHTA BAHADUR,

Your good service and ability secured for you rapid promotion in the Police and have now won for you your present title. You have done much to improve the efficiency and discipline of the force which you have commanded and you have always shown yourself a most capable officer.

RAI HIRA LAL MAULIK BAHADUR,

You are always foremost in all good work in Madaripur, where you have shown your public spirit and generosity in many directions. "As Chairman of the Madaripur Local Board, as Vice-Chairman of the Municipality and as Member of the Faridpur District Board, you have devoted yourself to the public good and you have done your best to combat the effects of non-co-operation in your subdivision. That you have received the title of Rai Bahadur only 18 months after that of Rai Sahib is an indication of the value of your recent services."

RAI GANESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA BAHADUR, .

For the past 20 years you have been Government Pleader of Bakarganj, a post which has involved onerous and responsible duties. You have served Government faithfully and with credit and have shown yourself a very capable adviser on legal matters.

RAI BAHADURS,

I congratulate you on the honours which have been conferred upon you and trust that you may live long to enjoy them.

His Excellency's Speech at the Police Parade, Dacca, on 4th August 1924:

OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE BENGAL POLICE FORCE,

Once again I am privileged to distribute police medals and rewards to those officers and men who have done exceptionally good work and thus won this public recognition of their services. I welcome these occasions because they serve to remind the general public of the debt of gratitude which they owe to the police and because they afford me an opportunity of reviewing the work of the year and expressing the views of Government upon it. It is a pleasing feature of these parades that rewards are presented at the same time to members of the public who have given valuable assistance to the police. The inclusion of such an item in to-day's programme serves once again to emphasize the fact that the police are the servants of the community and not merely the servants of the Government, that without the co-operation of the public they could not do their work efficiently, but that with the co-operation of those who respect the law they can protect society against injury from the lawless. The police should be the protectors of the poor, the helpless and the innocent; they should inspire fear in none but law-breakers and disturbers of the peace. They must show patience towards ignorance, and coolness amidst excitement. They must meet deliberate defiance of authority with firmness, but exercise unlimited tolerance of errors that are committed through inadvertence. On their courage, their honesty, their good manners, rest the whole

foundations of organized society. If they fail in their duty they are not merely false to the Government that employs them, but they betray the public that has trusted them. I can never address the members of the police force without reminding them of the immensity of their responsibilities. They are more important than any other servants of the State. They are the pillars of society, the guardians of the peace, the prefects of the people. A contented police is the best guarantee of the security of Government, a trusted police is the best test of the unity of a people. But one thing must always be remembered, the police of every country are what the people make them. They cannot possess the qualities which I have described as essential unless the public attribute those qualities to them, support and trust those who possess them and help the Government to eradicate those who are deficient in them. If the police in England are, perhaps, the most efficient in the world, it is because the English people have made them so; it is because the people themselves value discipline and respect authority. If the burly metropolitan constable in his blue uniform is universally regarded as a friendly protector and as an inexhaustible mine of information, it is because every law-abiding citizen from the little child who has to be steered through the traffic to the owner of millions trusts him implicitly with his life and property, and accepts his authority without question. If, in India, the police are sometimes less efficient, less incorruptible, less patient, it is because the public have less regard for discipline, because they fear rather than respect authority, because

they do not regard the police as their own natural protectors, because they have less scruples in offering them inducements to fail in their duty and less courage in resisting blackmail or oppression at their hands—because they cover their police with abuse, grudge them their barely adequate wages, and compel them to live in worse quarters than the criminals whom it is their duty to pursue. I am glad to notice, however, that every year these things show a tendency to get better; the standard both of discipline and of honesty in the police, is rising, the co-operation of the public is increasing, and the relationship, therefore, between the people and the police is slowly improving.

One very healthy sign is the growth of local defence parties in which educated citizens volunteer to assist the police in protecting their own districts from crime. It has been my pleasant duty during the last year to inspect some of these and to congratulate their members on good work accomplished. Much can be done by Union Boards and by local gentlemen of standing in this way as well as in improving the morale and standard of the village chaurkidars. It stands to reason that the local residents are best acquainted with the conditions of their own locality and know who are the bad or suspicious characters. If they will take the police into their confidence, then the police will be able the more efficiently to carry out their duties of protecting property and detecting crime. The more efficient the village police are, the less need is there for the services of the regular police.

I do not suggest for a moment that the police should be immune from criticism, but I do ask that

the criticism should be discriminating, that it should be directed against individuals who have failed in their duty and not against the force as a whole. That there are many failures is unfortunately shown by the statistics of judicial punishments, convictions and dismissals that are published every year, though I am glad to note that these are still on the decline. Departmental punishments have, on the other hand, increased, showing that the authorities exact a high standard and are determined to maintain it. The Government will be grateful to the public for any help which will enable them to suppress abuses, eradicate corruption, dishonesty or oppression, and purge the force of those who are unworthy to belong to it. But they will, at the same time, do all in their power to save the good name of the force and protect it against an unscrupulous campaign of falsehood and defamation. The thing that has distressed me more than anything else since I came to India is to find that mere hatred of authority can drive Indian men to induce Indian women to invent offences against their own honour merely to bring discredit upon Indian policemen.

It is not, I think, realized to what extent retrenchment has been carried out in the Police Department and how greatly the department is handicapped at this moment in consequence. There seems to be a general impression that Government obtained fresh taxation from the Legislative Council in 1922 on the strength of promises that the proceeds should be spent upon the Transferred Departments and that the new revenue has instead been spent upon increasing the police—the “spoilt

child" of Government and providing them with "palatial residences." The actual facts are the exact opposite. The extra revenue, which we hoped to derive from the new taxes, has not been diverted from the objects for which it was intended,—it was never in fact received owing to the general trade depression from which Bengal suffered in common with the rest of the world. The Police Department far from being pampered has been more severely retrenched than any other. The training college has been diminished, the detective school has been closed and the river police have been reduced. On the top of former retrenchments a reduction of four lakhs was again made in the cost of the department last year which has necessitated not only some lowering of standards, but also the postponement of several much-needed measures of improvement.

I congratulate the force on what has been on the whole a satisfactory year. The conditions of the Presidency have been more settled and your life and duties have, therefore, been more normal. Political agitation has been less acute, but there have been other causes of unrest and anxious moments in which the police have been called upon to use all their patience, self-control and courage. I refer chiefly to the unfortunate conflicts between Namasudras and Muhammadans in Faridpur district and to the Sonthal unrest in Midnapore and Bankura, in both of which the police acquitted themselves with credit. A disquieting feature of the year has been the appearance of men of the *bhadralok* class in the commission of dacoities. This feature is not confined to Bengal or even to

India. All over the world the excitement produced by the war, and the economic distress which followed it have led to unusual outbreaks of crime by young men of the educated class. Unfortunately in Bengal the revolutionary movement, which has again sprung up, affords an emotional outlet for this class which is not available elsewhere. These young revolutionaries are again resorting to the old methods of intimidation with which the older generation in Bengal is only too familiar. We have evidently an exceptionally difficult and anxious time ahead of us and my last words must be ones of encouragement both to the police and to the general public. I have every confidence in the courage of the police and I know that they will not fail in their duty. Let me assure them, however, that neither the officers of the Government nor the law-abiding citizens, who look to them for protection, will be deterred in the slightest degree by threats of violence from affording them all the assistance which they have a right to expect. Let me assure the general public that we are quite strong enough to deal with this menace and we shall not shrink from using fearlessly and unhesitatingly all the weapons that may be necessary for its defeat. To the police my last words are. We appreciate your difficulties, your discomforts and your dangers, and we regard it as our duty to reduce them to the minimum. We value your services, we rely on your courage, and in the execution of your duty we shall not fail to support you.

***His Excellency's Address to the Recipients
of Medals and Rewards at the Police
Parade, Dacca, on 5th August 1924.***

MR. HODSON,

In consequence of an outbreak of lawlessness among its inhabitants, additional police had to be posted in a part of the Tippera district. As Additional Superintendent of Police in that district, you accompanied a party of police to Mohini, which was the centre of the disaffected area. On arrival at Mohini you were surrounded by a large mob and threatened with assault. By your tact and energy in dealing with the situation, you succeeded, with the help of your subordinate officers, in dispersing the angry mob without firing. You further maintained confidence among your men by living with them in a small hut for three weeks in the middle of the hot weather.

Your great devotion to duty at a critical time has well earned the award of the King's Police Medal.

DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENT RAGHABENDRA NATH
BANARJI,

On the night of 12th March 1920, you were in charge of a party of police, which succeeded in surprising a gang of dacoits armed with swords. Three of the dacoits were captured, but in the course of the struggle you received a sword cut on your hand.

On the night of 17th December 1921, you were again in charge of a police party, when you surprised another gang of dacoits who were armed with daggers and a revolver. You closed with the dacoit, who was armed with the revolver and with another who had a knife, and you succeeded in arresting the former after a struggle. Two other dacoits were also caught by your party.

On both occasions you showed considerable personal courage and set a splendid example of steadiness and leadership for the force under you to follow.

I congratulate you on the fine performance which has won you this Medal.

RAI SURENDRA NATH BANARJI BAHADUR,

You entered the police as a Head-constable 30 years ago and by dint of sheer merit you have risen to the rank of officiating Deputy Superintendent. You did especially good work in the Diamond Harbour Subdivision of the 24-Parganas district where, by the exercise of admirable tact and thoroughness and by extreme hard work, you succeeded in keeping the subdivision free from dacoity by the detection of specific cases and by preventive measures which you took against a very large number of gangs.

Since then you have continued to receive very high encomiums for the exceptionally painstaking and thorough manner in which you have carried out your duties at great personal risk. I congratulate you on the King's Police Medal which you have so well earned.

INSPECTOR KESHAB LAL BHATTACHAJI,

In June 1922, you accompanied Mr. Hodson to Mohini and you were with the force that was surrounded by the angry mob. When the mob threatened assault you rushed unarmed into the crowd and challenged the ring-leaders, who, on seeing your firm attitude, pacified the mob and excitement gradually subsided. Owing to your courageous action and the presence of mind which you showed, it was unnecessary for the police to open fire and so many lives were saved. You richly deserve the Police Medal, which His Majesty has been pleased to award to you.

RIFLEMAN MASEK RAM MECH,

You were attached to the 1st Battalion of the 8th Gurkha Rifles and served in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria during the war. Throughout this period you carried out all the duties entrusted to you willingly and cheerfully under every condition. One of the first men to be trained as a bomber, you then did invaluable work in the training of others. I congratulate you most heartily upon the Indian Meritorious Service Medal, which has been awarded to you for acts of gallantry, meritorious service and devotion to duty while serving with the Egyptian Expeditionary Force.

BABU BAN BEHARI CHANDRA,

As a teacher in the Katwa High English School, you came to know that the Akra Dacoity had been committed by two of your students among others. You immediately informed the Superintendent of

Police of this and, through your influence, confessions were obtained from your students. By the action you took you gave material assistance to the Police, but risked your life by incurring the displeasure of the gang.

BABU RAM CHANDRA CHAUDHURI,

You, too, are a teacher in a high English school at Barhatta, in the district of Mymensingh. You supplied the police with useful information in connection with a dacoity case and helped them throughout. In fact, you have been constantly of great assistance to the police in putting down bad characters, although you know that such co-operation would make you many enemies.

MUNSHI FAKARUDDIN,

You heard an alarm raised and immediately gave chase with Munshi Pir Muhammad to an accused in a dacoity in Howrah district; and you succeeded in arresting him after a hard chase although he was armed with a dagger.

MUNSHI PIR MUHAMMAD,

The same credit belongs to you also for the courageous and public-spirited part you played in arresting the armed dacoit.

MUNSHI SHAIKH RASUL,

You chased a Peshwari, who was also an accused in the same case, and helped a constable in arresting him, although he, too, was armed with a dagger.

BABU SHYAMA CHARAN RUDRAPAL,

While a dacoity was being committed one night in the house of a neighbour in your village in Mymensingh, the owner managed to escape and raised the alarm, and you and several others collected round the house. The dacoits attempted to escape, but you followed them and struck one of them with a *lathi* and were instrumental in securing his arrest.

BABU GAGAN CHANDRA DE SARKAR,

The valuable information which you gave to the police in connection with a dacoity in Mymensingh led to the arrest of a notorious bad character, who confessed his guilt and implicated twelve others. Of these six were convicted in the Sessions Court, a result for which you were largely responsible.

***His Excellency's Address to the Recipients
of Rewards at Dacca, on 5th August
1924.***

MAULVI OMAR ALI,

On the night of the 22nd March last year you organized an attack on dacoits who had attacked a house in your village in the Tippera district. A fight ensued in which a number of villagers were wounded, but your party succeeded in capturing one of the dacoits. It was due to your pluck and leadership that the dacoit was arrested.

SIKANDER ALI MIAH,

You helped the President-Panchayat, Maulvi Omar Ali, in the attack on the dacoits and you were primarily responsible for the capture of the one who was arrested. You were yourself wounded during the fight, but displayed great pluck in attacking dacoits who were armed with deadly weapons, while you yourself were armed with only a *lathi*.

***His Excellency's Address at the 'Annual
Convocation of the East Bengal Saraswat
Samaj, Dacca, on 6th August 1924.***

LEARNED PANDITS,

On previous occasions I have commented upon the fact that your Samaj and myself are of the same age, that we are almost exact contemporaries, having been born about the same date and lived the same number of years. This year I feel more disposed to emphasize the disparity, both in duration and in character, between my official life and your learned one. As the Treasurer has reminded me in his report, another year has rolled by since we last met, another year in my term of office which brings me practically to the half-way post on my short official journey, another year in the long peaceful and untroubled history of your learned association. It is the same period of time to both of us, yet how very different is the significance—the relative value—of those 12 months in the lives of each. Your life is one which need never end. The ingredients of which your Samaj is composed, should always be present, the needs which it supplies will always be felt and the appreciation of its noble and disinterested work should never fail to produce the modest funds necessary for its maintenance. I look, therefore, into the future, and I see the life of your Samaj stretching away along a sunlit path into a distance so remote as to be beyond the reach of my vision. On the other hand, the little span of my official life compared with that of your society is as the life of an insect compared

with that of a man, or as the spark of flint on steel compared with the life of the sun. You are still young, while I have reached middle age, and you will remain young after I am forgotten.

No less strongly contrasted is the nature of your work and the nature of mine. You live in the peaceful atmosphere of scholarship and research, your pandits are engaged in keeping alight the lamp of learning and handing it on from generation to generation. But there few currents of air occur to cause even a flicker in the flame of that lamp. Except for the hand of death, which does not discriminate between the king or the beggar, the scholar or the fool, except for the normal wastage thus occasioned among your members, your work runs smoothly on from generation to generation, like the deep still waters of some perennial river. My work, on the other hand, is spent among the rapids, the torrents, the shoals, the broken waters of public life, where crisis succeeds crisis, and excitement never wanes, where passions are deeply stirred and human nature is shown at once at its worst and at its best.

You can imagine, therefore, with what pleasure on one afternoon of every year I pass across the threshold of your convocation, out of the glare of public life into the dim light of scholarship, from the heated atmosphere of politics to the cool cloisters of learning, from the harsh discord of the Senate House to the quiet harmony of the library. This annual experience, which I owe to you, is like the bathing of tired limbs in cool water, or the contemplation of eternity in a night of stars.

You have referred, Rai Babadur, to my all too brief sojourn in this city, and I assure you that I regret as much as any of you the enforced shortness of my visit this year. I had been looking forward to a stay of at least three weeks, during which time I might renew acquaintance with old friends and, perhaps, make some advance towards the solution of problems which have been brought to my notice. But fate has ruled otherwise, and circumstances beyond my control have interfered with my plans. I trust it may be some consolation to you to know that my visit to Simla was not only helpful to myself, but will, I hope, prove of value to the province.

You ask me to carry on the traditions of the great kings in ancient days, who considered it a privilege to foster the growth of learning and development of culture by personal encouragement. I may not have all the leisure that those ancient kings enjoyed, but I willingly accept your invitation, and it will always be a pleasure to me to give you encouragement and support. No constitutional changes in the powers or position of a Governor have diminished his ability to extend his personal patronage to organizations like yours. Apart from my personal interest in your welfare my Government, as you know, gives you a grant on certain conditions and this will be continued so long as the conditions are fulfilled and the money is voted by the Legislative Council.

You point with pride to the results of the examinations; in which 1,164 students appeared and 361 passed, 54 with honours. You say that these

figures are eloquent of the high standard which has been maintained; I agree, and I note with pleasure that the examiners report a noticeable improvement in the art of teaching. At the same time the figures do suggest that the art of teaching in the *toils* is susceptible of still further improvement and I commend this aspect of the matter to the careful attention of the Samaj.

The year has been a sad one and as you point out you have lost many of your staunchest patrons and supporters.

The departure of Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri from the Dacca University is a real loss. I entirely sympathize with your feelings on this subject and I can promise you my personal assistance in trying to get him back. The University, I was obliged regretfully to admit, had no option but to retrench some of its activities and the Chair of Sanskrit had to be abandoned owing to the comparatively small demand for higher sanskritic studies in the University of Dacca. As I have said before, I am most definitely of opinion that every Indian University should include such studies in its curriculum, although how far they should be specialised depends largely on the locality of that University and its special bias. Therefore, though I could not say that the University was wrong in making the selection it did in the circumstances, yet I regard the loss to the University of Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri as a real disaster and I shall make every effort, as Chancellor, to obtain from outside sources sufficient funds to endow a Chair or a course of lectures to which the Mahamahopadhyaya can be appointed.

With regard to your other losses—alas, I am powerless to help. I cannot restore the dead to life, and you have lost by death in the last year three great patrons—Sir Asutosh Mookherjee, Raja Srinath Ray, and Mahamahopadhyaya Kali Prasanna Bhattacharjya. I shall not add to the universal tributes which have already been paid to Sir Asutosh Mookherjee. My genuine sorrow at his death has been expressed elsewhere. No other man could have left so great a gap in the public life of Bengal. He was unique, unrivalled and, alas, irreplaceable.

Raja Srinath Ray, who has died at the ripe old age of 83, belonged to the Bhagyakul family which has always been noted for its public beneficence and its patronage of Sanskrit literature and Hindu lore. The Raja did but carry on the admirable traditions of his family, when he took the lead in founding the “Eastern Bengal Saraswat Samaj” over 40 years ago. Since then he has taken an active and sustained interest in the welfare of the society and contributed generously each year to the spread of Sanskrit education in Eastern Bengal. It is this side of his activities that I am chiefly concerned to recall to-day, but that was merely typical of his attitude towards any movement which he thought would add to the happiness and well-being of his fellow-countrymen. Dacca has reason to be grateful to his memory and I need not enumerate the various schemes which have benefited so materially from his generous help. Suffice it to say that in the death of Raja Srinath Ray, this Samaj, along with Eastern Bengal, generally has lost a wise and generous friend.

Mahamahopadhyaya Kali Prasanna Bhattacharjya is another scholar and friend, whose loss we have to mourn; he, too, devoted his life to the spread of ancient learning and was a firm friend to the society.

Gentlemen, I shall not detain you longer. It has been a real pleasure to me to renew my acquaintance with your Samaj. Long may you continue to carry on your unselfish and truly patriotic work. May the high standard of culture, which you maintain, never be lowered, may your ideals never be diminished, and may your worthy pandits never feel a need which cannot be satisfied.

***His Excellency's Speech at the opening
of Coronation Park School, Dacca, on
7th August 1924.***

MR. VICE-CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,

Mr. Biss, after making a comprehensive study of the whole problem, submitted a most interesting and suggestive report in which he outlined a scheme for making primary education universal in Bengal. As he pointed out, it is the duty of the State to use its best endeavours to destroy ignorance and to create efficiency among the people, and the attainment of literacy is a necessary step towards this end. The ultimate aim is to create a net work of schools so placed that every child will have one within reasonable reach. The accomplishment of this aim will require the co-operation of both the Government and the people. In order to encourage local initiative, Government have decided as an experiment to pay half the capital and recurring cost of schools which are opened in pursuance of the scheme and which meet Government's requirements, provided that the other half is met locally. I am glad to find that this offer has been accepted in Dacca where you have definitely undertaken to try and make primary education accessible even to the poorest of your citizens on the lines of Mr. Biss's scheme. I understand that your ultimate aim is to establish 12 primary schools in Dacca town and that these will be so distributed as to serve the needs of the entire area. This year, however, you hope to make a beginning with three

primary schools, of which the Coronation Park School is the first to be ready. This, therefore, is an important day in the history of Dacca, and I am glad that I am privileged to be present on the occasion of the inauguration of your scheme and to witness the introduction of free primary education into the city. You have wisely decided to make a small beginning in an existing building with the minimum of cost, without waiting for the more ambitious scheme to be ready. I say "wisely" because your best chance of securing the necessary support to complete your full scheme is to show that you are in earnest, and having once made a beginning it will be easier for you to build on the foundations of experience already gained. The old Greek proverb that "the beginning is half the whole" is so true that it has found expression in many languages. I hope that it may prove true in this enterprise of yours.

I understand that you have chosen three distinctive areas for the location of the schools, which you propose to open this year, one being predominantly Muhammadan, one predominantly Hindu and the third on the outskirts of the town in a neighbourhood which is unserved by any schools at all. In this matter, therefore, as well as in the others to which I have referred, the Committee has shown very great thought and care.

I can congratulate the Municipality—and particularly the President and members of its School Committee—on the step that they have taken and the courage they have shown in facing this very important and serious problem. It needs little

imagination to realize what a gigantic problem it is to bring elementary education within easy reach of every child in Bengal. But the difficulties of such a problem must be felt mainly in the rural areas, and, in comparison with the problem which the District Boards find themselves required to meet, the municipalities and town areas have a relatively easy task to face. It is right, therefore, that the municipalities should give the lead, and if Dacca really takes up the work in earnest and devote to it that energy and enthusiasm which the Committee have already shown, the problem of providing this town, within a measurable distance of time, with primary education for all boys, should not prove by any means an impossible one. Surely Dacca, the historic capital of Eastern Bengal, will gladly shoulder the responsibility and prove itself equal to the occasion.

Although Mr. Biss aimed ultimately at free compulsory education, he recognized that we should have to be content for some time to come with the system of fee-charging schools in its various stages before we could reach that ideal. It is one of the special features of this school that you are at one bound reaching the ideal of free education, although you cannot as yet achieve compulsion. I trust that this school, which I am to open to-day, will prove the first step leading to the completion of the larger programme which will one day supply the entire city with similar schools, and I can assure you that Government will co-operate with you heartily in the preparation and completion of each successive stage. When you have shown that your experiment is a success and have inspired confidence

in your management and enterprise, I shall be glad to recommend, to the consideration of the charitable and public-spirited citizens of Dacca and Eastern Bengal, generally the suggestion which has been thrown out for the creation of endowments for the help of primary education.

Gentlemen, the only shadow of regret that crosses our minds on this auspicious day, as the Vice-Chairman has truly said, is the remembrance that the late Nawab Yusuf is no longer here to share with us our pleasure at the realization of his long-cherished hopes. This day is really the fruit of his work and I feel sure that he is with us in spirit.

I now declare the Coronation Park School open, and the system of free primary education in this city inaugurated.

His Excellency's Address to the Recipients of Badge and Sanads presented at Dhittagong, on 9th August 1924.

MR. HENRY CHARLES ECCLESTON,

In the name of the King-Kmperor and by His Majesty's Command, I present you with the Badge of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire of which Order His Majesty has been pleased to appoint you as Member.

RAI BINODE LAL RAY BAHADUR,

Your family has long been known for its loyalty and public service, and you have worthily maintained its traditions.

You have done useful and efficient work for several years as an Honorary Magistrate with first class powers, and you have always shown yourself ready to render practical assistance to the local authorities.

I congratulate you on this well-earned honour.

RAI SAHIB RAJ MOHAN GANGULI,

You have had a public service of over half a century, during the whole of which period you have won the high esteem of your superiors and, indeed, of all with whom you have come in contact for your unswerving loyalty and devotion to duty. I am very glad to have an opportunity of handing you the *sanad* of your title in the presence of your officers and colleagues.

Address presented by the Chiefs, Headmen and the People of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, on 14th August 1924.

1. We, the chiefs, the headmen and the people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, deem it our proud privilege to offer our most loyal and cordial welcome to Your Excellency on this memorable and auspicious occasion of Your Excellency's first visit to our picturesque station and mountainous district.

2. We beg to take this opportunity of expressing our humble appreciation of the manifold benefits which the Hill Tracts have derived from time to time since the British occupation of the Hill Tracts. We beg to convey through Your Excellency our deep and sincere loyalty and attachment to the British throne.

3. Unlike other districts of Bengal, the district of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, with its pre-eminently mountainous and isolated character, is inhabited by primitive and once independent hill tribes speaking a variety of dialects with diverse tribal usages and diverse political functions. These different hill tribes are the Chakmas, Mughas, Tangchanghyas, Riangs, Tipperas, Murungs, Lushais, Pankhus, Bonjugis, Khyangs and Khumis. The economic problems and administrative requirements of this district are, therefore, unique and totally different from those of other districts in Bengal. The chiefs and the headmen have always rendered loyal

services to the State not only during the several Lushai expeditions, but have also proved important factors in the carrying out of the various administrative schemes; and we fervently hope that Your Excellency's Government will sympathize with the past traditions of these, once independent races, so that the ancient chiefs and headmen may live happily in honour and prestige, continuing to enjoy their old rights and privileges.

4. That the late Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the Hon'ble Sir Lancelot Hare, and Your Excellency's predecessors, Their Excellencies Lords Carmichael and Ronaldshay, recognized the increasing difficulties of communication between Rangamati and Chittagong owing to the formation of sand-banks in the Karnafuli, and felt that lack of easy communications seriously retarded the development of the district. This district is in urgent need of many improvements, especially the opening out of communications by land and water between the different centres of the Hill Tracts and the Regulation district of Chittagong. Though kind and sympathetic assurance was given by Their Excellencies for the opening of wheeled traffic, no step has hitherto been taken in that direction, and the work has been kept long in abeyance. In this connection, we earnestly pray that Your Excellency would be so graciously pleased as to remove this long-felt want and direct that the work be taken up at once. The districts of Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts were one before 1860 A.D. In bond, sympathy, tradition and administrative requirements we are linked with Chittagong. In export and import we are naturally

connected with the Chittagong Port. It is, therefore, essentially necessary to maintain and improve the communication between these two sister districts. We, therefore, pray that roads be so improved without further delay that the motor-car traffic may be possible between Rangamati and Chittagong.

5 Good drinking water has been for long a crying necessity in this station and Lord Carmichael recognized this. A Sanitary Engineer was deputed to enquire into the matter, and plans and estimates of the scheme were submitted in due course. This long-felt want was brought also to the notice of His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay, but no tangible step has yet been taken. We pray that Your Excellency will be pleased to take up the matter at an early date, so that the memory of Your Excellency's auspicious visit may be perpetuated by the fulfilment of the assurances given by Your Excellency's predecessors.

6. As regards the newly-created subdivisions in this district, we beg to take this opportunity of impressing upon Your Excellency that the unpromising economic condition and other administrative requirements of this district do not justify the upkeep of subdivisions which, with an increased staff of officers, have served no very useful purpose, but that the additional expenditure has been an unnecessary financial burden upon the straitened resources of the Government. Three subdivisions, *viz.*, the Sadar, Bundarban and Ramgarh, were formed so as to be co-extensive, respectively, with the Chakma, Bohmong and Mong Circles. The

Bundarban subdivision proved abortive and unnecessary, and it has been amalgamated with the Sadar so that one officer now holds charge of the areas formerly comprised in the two subdivisions. The area now under the Sadar Subdivisional Officer with the increased area of 1,235 square miles of the Bundarban subdivision with its own area of 2,499 square miles is 4,434 square miles and its present population, inclusive of the population of 49,062 souls of the Bundarban subdivision, is 126,217 souls; whereas the area and population of Ramgarh subdivision are only 704 square miles and 27,613 souls, respectively. There are nine thanas in the amalgamated subdivision, whereas only two thanas in the Ramgarh subdivision. The jurisdiction of the Sadar subdivision extends as far as the Aracan frontier, whereas Ramgarh is much nearer to Rangamati. If Ramgarh, with only two thanas, be combined with the Sadar, then there is no need of a separate subdivision. The Sadar Subdivisional Officer's present combined jurisdiction is almost co-extensive with that of the district officer. We, therefore, beg to pray that to ensure an equally efficient administration at a considerably less cost, the subdivisions and the staff be abolished, and there be subordinate assistants as before.

7. We beg to say that the economic condition of the jhumias has somewhat improved in recent years on account of a good outturn of crops and rise in the prices of cotton. But we beg to bring to Your Excellency's notice that there were already 1,065 square miles of forest reserves out of the total district area of 5,138 square miles and that the major portion of those reserves, owing to their

extensiveness and difficulty of access, are practically unmanageable by the Forest Department and so lying as unprofitable tracts; and that in addition the creation of a good many new forest reserves in recent years has been a manifest grievance due to the increase of, and likewise to the paucity and well-nigh exhaustion of, *jhuming* areas and the scarcity of arable lands. The creation of the reserves in particular areas cannot prevent the silting up of the Karnafuli river, because silting prevails down stream, and also the source of the river is far beyond the Hill Tracts in the interior of the Lushai Hills. The conditions of the Sungoo, Mathamuri and Bagkhali rivers are the same. The silting up of the river is not only due to the spread of cultivation, but also to an ever-increasing population with a corresponding increase of cattle. The Kaptai and the Rankheong reserves have failed to prevent the silting up of the river beyond the actual reserve areas. Silting continues still both above and below those reserves.

8. As regards the new rule about the land, we beg to pray that the special character of the leases be maintained as before with the right of subletting freely as previously permitted by the Divisional Commissioners. As a result of the encouragement especially given by Government and local officers for the extension of plough cultivation, some special leases of large areas were taken and opened out at an outlay of heavy expenditure, and it will be a great hardship on the lessees, if the recent rules be engrafted on the special leases and old grants.

9. We beg humbly to inform Your Excellency that the contemplated abolition of the medical staff

in the province has caused the greatest alarm to the hillmen; in the Hill Tracts doctors and physicians are exceedingly rare, and their services are indispensable.

10. We are sincerely grateful to the British administration for introducing English education and culture in the country, and we venture to approach Your Excellency for increased facilities of education in this backward district.

11. We beg to bring to Your Excellency's notice that the Chittagong Hill Tracts being an agricultural district people's wealth consists mainly of cattle, which number several thousand heads, consequently the want of a Veterinary Assistant is keenly felt and we respectfully request that one may be appointed in this district at an early date.

12. We crave Your Excellency's permission to say that we have no concern with any other local association. We consider that political agitation among these hill tribes may do much harm than any good.

In conclusion, we beg to offer our sincere thanks and heart-felt gratitude to Your Excellency for the various benefits and old customary privileges obtained by us from Your Excellency's Government and also for the anxious solicitude and special interest evinced in all matters regarding the Hill Tracts and particularly in the welfare of the hill people. We trust that Your Excellency's visit to Raṅgamati will prove a pleasant one, and we sincerely wish Your Excellency a long, happy, and yet a more prosperous life.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Address
presented at Rangamati, on 14th August
1924.***

**CHIEFS, HEADMEN AND PEOPLE OF THE CHITTAGONG
HILL TRACTS,**

I thank you for the cordial welcome which you have given me. I have long been looking forward to this visit for many reasons. My Private Secretary, who, as you know, was Deputy Commissioner of this district a few years ago, has told me much of the beauty and picturesqueness of your scenery and of the charm and variety of the people who inhabit these parts. I have read with great interest of the romantic events that led up to the inclusion of this area in British India and of the influence that Thangliena and other pioneers exercised among the people of the Hill Tracts. I believe that they are still household names amongst even the present generation.

Although the weather was dull and the last part of my journey had to be made after dark, I was delighted with the scenery which I passed through yesterday on my way here from Chandraghona, and I am sure that my visit will provide all the interest which Mr. Wilkinson has promised me.

When my predecessor visited Rangamati five years ago, Mr. Ascoli had just submitted to Government a report reviewing the administration of the Hill Tracts and recommending certain changes. Lord Ronaldshay, therefore, came here very largely

with the object of examining these problems on the spot and it was after his visit that the changes, which have been made in the administration, were introduced. I trust that these changes have already led to an improvement in the condition and happiness of the people, but I shall myself have an opportunity of discussing such matters and of judging how far any modification is required.

In the character of its scenery, the variety of its people and languages, in its past history and present stage of development, this district appears to be quite unique and to present features which are not to be found anywhere else in Bengal. It will be of great interest to me to study them on the spot and to learn whether there is any way in which I can be instrumental in improving the condition of its people.

The address points out that previous chiefs and headmen rendered loyal services to the State during the different Lushai expeditions; I think you will agree that Government showed their appreciation of these services. The recent changes were in fact framed by Government with due regard to the services which had been rendered by the chiefs and headmen and to the position which they had hitherto occupied. Although you have been left with many of your old privileges, these cannot continue to be justified by past services alone; they carry with them obligations, and in your cases the obligations consist of certain duties to Government on the one hand and to the people on the other. Upon the manner, therefore, in which these duties are fulfilled must depend the continuance of such privileges, as are consistent

with the traditional policy of Government. As nearly four years have elapsed since the new system was introduced we now have sufficient experience to judge of its working.

Some of the matters, to which you have drawn my attention, arise out of the changes involved in the new system and I shall deal with these first.

As the result of Mr. Ascoli's report, the district was divided into three subdivisions, corresponding with the three circles, and subdivisional offices have been constructed at Ramgarh in the Mong Circle and have now been in use for two years.

You now press for the abolition of this subdivision on the ground that this will result in substantial economy. I am aware that there has been considerable difference of opinion as to whether the time was ripe for the establishment of residential subdivisions, but apart from the initial expenditure the extra cost involved in their establishment is comparatively small, and, as that initial expenditure has already been incurred at Ramgarh, nothing is to be gained by withdrawing from it. In a district of this sort personal contact of the officials with the people is even more necessary for the good administration and happiness of the area than in other districts, and any measures which will increase this contact will obviously be an improvement. The argument of economy has really very little foundation, and Government do not now intend to abolish the Ramgarh subdivision which has already proved useful.

Another matter which may be regarded as arising directly from the change in the administration is the principle governing the tenure of plough

land and the conditions under which it is held. Government's policy is, and always has been, to settle lands with hillmen cultivators and to encourage hillmen to take up this form of agriculture, which was originally foreign to the district. We want to keep the land in the possession of the hillmen, each family having enough to maintain it, but no more than it can cultivate itself, and we wish to deal direct with the cultivator and eliminate the middleman, who merely exploits the land for his own benefit. We must, therefore, control transfers and subleases in such a way as to prevent the land falling into the hands of such middlemen. The rule about subletting has been framed with this object, and while it aims at safeguarding the rights of the actual cultivators it will not, I think, cause any hardship, as it provides that subleases granted prior to 3rd December 1920 and still in existence are to be recognized as valid.

The other matters to which you refer do not arise directly from the changes in the administration though many of them may be said to have resulted indirectly from the publication of Mr. Ascoli's report. In a district like this which is exclusively agricultural the most urgent requirements are probably those that concern its economic conditions, and the measures most needed are such as aim at improvement in the system and practice of cultivation. I can well understand, therefore, that you regard the appointment of a Veterinary Assistant as a matter of considerable importance. Government also have already admitted its necessity and have given administrative approval to the construction of the necessary buildings. I hope that

we shall be able before long to provide the funds required for these buildings and also for the establishment of an agricultural farm where improved methods can be demonstrated and experiments undertaken in terracing, introducing new crops and so on. Lord Ronaldshay hoped to establish such a farm before he left India, and definitely announced the intentions of his Government to do so. This did not prove possible and up to now Government has not been able to allot funds for this purpose. It remains, however, an accepted item in our policy, and this is a district in which it will obviously be necessary for a Government farm to be established as soon as the necessary funds and trained staff can be provided.

A need to which you appear to attach particular importance is the improvement of communications between this district and Chittagong, a problem which has apparently long been a matter of concern to you. Such a measure would certainly increase the accessibility of Rangamati, but I confess to some surprise that you should have pressed for it for so long and with such insistence, for it will only connect Rangamati with Chittagong and will not in any way open up the other vast tracts in the interior of this district. To construct a road which would be of practical and substantial benefit to the trade of this area would be a very large undertaking, and the cost of maintaining it would also be great. The valleys of the Karnafuli and the Chengri, which such a road will serve, have already direct river communication with Chittagong. Nature has provided you in these rivers with lines of communication along which the produce of the

country—bamboos, cotton, timber, thatching grass or whatever it may be—is now conveyed cheaply, and directly from the very areas in which they are grown to the Port of Chittagong and I doubt whether even if the road you mention were constructed, the trade would abandon its natural means of transit.

As far as passengers are concerned, I understand that a sufficient service of launches is now established and so long as the Karnafuli remains navigable for them, your requirements appear to be met. To ensure the rivers remaining navigable or at least to delay their deterioration, forests are being reserved near the headwaters of this and tributary rivers; for the substitution of crops for forests in the hills where rivers have their origin has been proved by experience to cause more rapid disintegration of the soil and the consequent silting up of the river channels.

The surprise which I feel at your attaching so much importance to this road is increased by one of the arguments which you adduce in support of your claims, namely, the affinity between this district and Chittagong. My information is that in sympathy, tradition and administrative requirements the greater part of this district is absolutely divorced from the Regulation district of Chittagong. This information is not only what one would expect from a theoretical study of the district, but it is confirmed by other passages in your address.

‘Do not suppose that I attach no importance to the improvement of communications. On the contrary I think it is of the utmost importance in

this as in other districts, but my advice to you is to concentrate upon the improvement of your internal rather than external communications. This would not only link up the different parts of the country and benefit the outlying areas, but it would also have the additional advantage of bringing you more closely into contact with the officials who are largely responsible for your welfare.

You represent that in Rangamati, as elsewhere, good drinking water is a crying need. This was recognized by Lord Ronaldshay and I find that in 1919 he gave you a definite promise that provision for the cost of new waterworks would be made in the budget of the following year. I do not know whether Lord Ronaldshay's attention was drawn to the fact that this promise had not been fulfilled, but I was not made aware of the promise till I received your address. The fulfilment of it has now become more difficult as the estimated cost has increased and the ability of provincial revenues to meet it has diminished. Nevertheless, I consider that, whatever the difficulties, the Government is bound to implement an undertaking given so definitely and unequivocally by the Governor, and I shall inform my colleagues that in my opinion the honour and good faith of Government require that some provision should be made at once to carry out the promise given to you by my predecessor.

I am glad to hear from you that the economic condition of the jhumias has improved of late, but you complain that the *jhuming* area is rapidly becoming exhausted and that, so far from additional land being made available for this form of

cultivation, new forest reserves have actually been created.

I should like to explain quite clearly the reasons why these reserves have been created. As I have already stated, Government are satisfied that the clearing of forests in the hills round the headwaters of rivers is one of the causes of their subsequent deterioration. The rain which falls in the forests finds its way gradually into the soil and percolates slowly into the river beds without much disturbance of the earth. But when the forests are cleared and crops are substituted, the rains fall with greater force over an unprotected area and the water descending into the river beds scours the hill sides and carries a great amount of soil and particles of rock into the river channels, thus increasing the silting up of their lower reaches. This has been the experience of Western Bengal where the disafforestation of the hill country in the Ranchi district has led to the serious deterioration of the Damodar, Cossye and Subarnarekha rivers that have their origin in that country. With this experience to warn us we are anxious to save the rivers of this district as far as possible from similar deterioration.

This, then, is one reason for keeping so much of the land under reserved forest. Another is to ensure an adequate supply of timber and bamboos for the use of the local population.

I am aware of the objections that the chiefs specially find to this policy, but the reservation of forests does not necessarily militate against the interests of the jhumias. The Taungya system,

which has been introduced here, provides *jhuming* ground and work on very favourable conditions to the jhumias, and the Forest Department is anxious to encourage the settlement of forest villages in these areas.

I feel sure that the economic conditions of the people here could be improved very considerably even with the existing resources. The rules of these Hill Tracts are so framed as to encourage the hill people and to protect them from unequal competition from plains men, but I understand that so far as plough cultivation is concerned the hillmen have not taken full advantage of this, and, so far as they have adopted this form of cultivation, the holders of leases even prefer to employ labour from outside the district. The thatching grass, timber and bamboos, in which this district abounds, and which are exported in very large quantities, offer great opportunities to the hill people of adding to their income by utilizing more fully the products of the soil. In such a district as this, with its great resources and its special rules of protection, there is ample scope for the hillmen to find profitable work. Let them once acquire that habit of engaging in work other than *jhuming* and cultivation, and they need never experience poverty or, in years of crop failure, be driven to apply to Government for loans—which discourage thrift and industry—and which they find difficult to repay.

You express some apprehension as to the fate of the medical staff in this district; but there is not the slightest ground for such fear. The medical staff is not going to be abolished anywhere in the

province. If your reference is to the recent reduction in one of the items of the Medical Budget, I would remind you that the Chittagong Hill Tracts are excluded from the purview of the Legislative Council and you are not dependent on their votes for your grants.

Finally, let me deal with education. I am in some doubt as to the precise direction in which you desire to obtain increased educational facilities in the district. If you are thinking of higher education, I do not see that we can do more than we are already doing by providing the high English school at Rangamati; I am by no means convinced that the parents and boys have, indeed, derived all the benefit they could out of this school and that in such a district as this a school of this type serves a really useful purpose—whether in fact it is essentially suited to the needs and conditions of the Hill Tracts; but in any case we cannot entertain the idea of establishing another institution of this nature in this district (indeed there can be no demand for another such school), although we shall always be glad to consider any proposals which may be put forward for school expansion on an aided basis.

"I look forward to a time when hillmen will be able to manage, staff and finance (in part at least) their own school; then only will the benefits of higher education be fully appreciated, and then only will such a school serve a really useful purpose.

As regards primary education (and this seems to me to be of far more importance here than higher

education), I am sorry to hear that it is making slow progress and that the people are apathetic; I can appreciate the disadvantages with which you have to contend in a country of this sort where communications are difficult and distances long, but unless the local people evince real interest and a desire to help, primary education is likely to make very little headway. Government are prepared and anxious to help in the spread of primary education, but they cannot undertake the entire cost of founding and maintaining schools. The first essential of the establishment of primary education in any country is the willingness of people to sacrifice money as well as time and energy for its sake.

Gentlemen, I think I have now dealt with all the questions you have raised and it only remains for me to thank you once more for the very cordial welcome you have extended to me.

I am looking forward during to-day and to-morrow to seeing as much as possible of this delightful country and I hope that the additional knowledge I may thus acquire of your local problems and customs may enable me to make my visit as beneficial to you as it has been pleasant to myself.

Address presented by the Commissioners of the Corporation of English Bazar, Malda, on 24th November 1924.

We, the Commissioners of the Corporation of this town of English Bazar, in the district of Malda, crave leave to approach Your Excellency with this our humble address, offering Your Excellency a respectful and cordial welcome on this happy occasion of Your Excellency's first visit to this town. We also take this opportunity of expressing our heartfelt loyalty and sincere devotion to the person and throne of His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor George V and his noble consort.

2. The keen interest and broad-minded sympathy which Your Excellency has always evinced in all matters connected with the sanitation of this Presidency, embolden us to bring to Your Excellency's notice the crying want of pure drinking water felt by the residents of this town. We gratefully acknowledge the receipt of Rs. 11,000 which Your Excellency granted to this Municipality for an experimental boring of a tube-well by the Chief Engineer, Public Health Department, Bengal. As the funds of the Municipality are limited, and the numbers of the well-to-do men in this district are also very few, we fervently hope that Your Excellency will graciously make a suitable grant towards the distributary system of this well water when the waterworks scheme will be taken up by us. In this connection, we beg leave to bring to Your Excellency's notice that on our

presentation of address to His Excellency the Right 'Hon'ble Baron Carmichael, of Skirling, *ex-Governor of Bengal*, in the year 1913, His Excellency in reply promised to contribute Rs. 40,000 for the waterworks of this town.

3. The health of our town is not very good. To improve its sanitary condition *pukka* drains should be made in various parts of the town. For want of funds we have been unable to complete it. We applied to Government for help, and under Government orders a supplementary drainage scheme of this town has been prepared and it is now with the Sanitary Engineer, Bengal. The estimated cost of the scheme is about Rs. 19,950. We are informed that the scheme will shortly be submitted to Government for approval. In this connection, we pray that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to grant the entire cost of the scheme which is urgently required for public health.

4. We solicit Your Excellency's indulgence for repeating a prayer which we made before the Government on several previous occasions, *viz.*, the grant to this Corporation of a moiety of the proceeds of the ferries at Jhowghatta, Ramnagar, Fulbari, Kothabari (formerly known as Kaliganj) and the subsidiary ferry of Karkhanaghat which are all situated within the municipal limits. All these ferries (except Fulbari and Kothabari) were made over to the District Board in 1904 before which we used to get a moiety of the income of the principal ferries at Jhowghatta and Ramnagar. After this transfer the Government was pleased to grant a consolidated amount of Rs. 650 a year instead of a moiety. In consequence of the heavy

traffic in these ferries since the opening of the Katihar-Godagari Railway in 1909, the income of the ferries has substantially increased. Under these circumstances, we pray that the grant of Rs. 650 may be suitably increased.

5. The situation of the railway line is so inconvenient and far off from this town with the river Mahananda intervening that the general as well as the mercantile public of this town cannot fully utilize the railway. The steamer service between Lalgola Ghât and this town is practically made use of for import and export of goods by the merchants of this place; but in the summer season the river being fordable at various places steamers cannot ply regularly and the merchants suffer greatly for the difficulties of import and export, and the general public also suffer greatly at the same time for want of imported goods at the market. It is difficult to bring the railway line nearer to the town now, but the difficulties may be solved if Your Excellency be pleased to move the State Railway to make a bridge at their own cost on the Mahananda and to realize indirectly the costs by levy of a terminal tax while issuing railway tickets or booking goods from and to the Malda railway station. Construction of such a bridge will, it is hoped, enable the Eastern Bengal Railway authorities to abolish the out-agency at Malda as well as to do away with the ghât siding at Nimasarai without any disadvantage or pecuniary loss.

In the Katihar-Godagari line there were three through trains, but at present there is only one train, so it has been very difficult for the people

of this place to go to Calcutta, Rajshahi and Murshidabad and other places on any urgent piece of business.

The people of this town, as well as the whole district, are suffering greatly for want of one more through train in the line. We pray, therefore, that Your Excellency may be graciously pleased to move the Railway Department for reinstating the night train in the line or in the alternative, if it is not possible, for making the local train which now runs up to Godagari, a through train as it was long ago.

6. The people of Malda are highly grateful to you for making Malda a seat of a Subordinate Judge. The experiment of a Subordinate Judge trying Malda suits at Malda for two months a year has been successful to prove that there is more than two months' work here. The Sessions Judge comes here to try Sessions cases, but yet in many sessions cases, the accused are to rot in the jail for three to six months after commitment, to await trial by the Sessions Judge. Administration of civil and criminal justice of this district may be much improved if an Additional Judge be placed under the District and Sessions Judge. Rajshahi, and is meant mainly, if not exclusively, for the district of Malda stationed at Malda to try civil and criminal cases, and as an experimental measure this system be given a fair trial here to redress the long-felt grievance of the public.

7. The charitable dispensary here is sadly suffering from want of a modern and up-to-date surgical ward and accessories. Mufassal people can

scarcely afford to go to Calcutta for surgical operations. If Your Excellency be pleased to make a suitable grant for the purpose of removing our these long-felt grievances, people of this place will ever remain grateful to Your Excellency's Government.

8. In conclusion, we fervently pray to God that He may, in His infinite mercy, vouchsafe unto Your Excellency and Lady Lytton long life, health and happiness.

Address presented by the Members of the Malda District Board, on 24th November 1924.

We, the members of the Malda District Board, crave leave to approach Your Excellency with our humble address and to offer Your Excellency a cordial and respectful welcome on this the august occasion of Your Excellency's first visit to this district. We also avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our loyal and deep devotion to the person and throne of His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor and his noble consort the Queen-Empress of India.

2. With Your Excellency's permission, we beg to lay before Your Excellency some of the most pressing needs and grievances of the people of this district in the humble hope that they will receive kind and sympathetic consideration from Your Excellency's Government.

3. The resources of the District Board are limited and its activities in other directions have to some extent been recently curtailed by the creation of the Public Health Department. We, therefore, venture to approach Your Excellency with the humble prayer that Your Excellency's Government will be graciously pleased to make over to the District Board the proceeds of the ferries at Fulbari, Rajmahal and Nimasarai, the approaches to which ferries are maintained by the Board.

4. The question of rural water-supply is the most crying want, not only of this district, but of

many other sister districts of Bengal, and with the slender resources at its command the Malda District Board finds it extremely difficult to solve the question speedily and satisfactorily." The Board has already approached Your Excellency's Government with a prayer for a loan of Rs. 50,000, and we wish and pray that Your Excellency's Government will be graciously pleased to grant us the loan applied for on easier than the usual terms.

5. The members of the District Board are in full sympathy and agreement with the people of the district in their desire to make the district full and self-contained by creating a separate judgeship for it. The grievances of the people in this respect have been reiterated on more than one occasion and need no repetition here. We venture to think that an Additional Judge, possessing civil and criminal powers, will be the most fitting officer for a district like this and will have ample work to occupy him throughout the year, and we humbly pray that Your Excellency's Government will be graciously pleased to sanction the appointment of an Additional Judge for Malda.

6. Your Excellency, the closing of the mouth of the Kalindri River has caused the health and material prosperity of this district to deteriorate to a considerable extent and a prayer for opening the mouth of Kalindri was made on a former occasion to the head of the province. Since then the Kalindri has joined the Kankar owing to natural causes, and if this junction continues and is a little widened, the health and prosperity of the district are bound to improve. We, therefore, humbly pray that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased

to initiate some engineering scheme for the maintenance and improvement of the junction of the two rivers referred to above.

7. The stoppage of night trains on the Katihar-Godagari Section of the Eastern Bengal Railway has caused and is causing immense trouble and hardship to the people, not only of this district, but also of the adjoining districts of Rahshahi and Purnea, and innumerable letters and representations of private gentlemen and public bodies have produced no effect on the railway authorities. The prayer of the people of these districts for connecting the local trains of the Katihar-Godagari Section with the trains on the other side of the Ganges by arranging a timely steamer ferry service met with a similar fate. We, therefore, venture to approach Your Excellency with the humble prayer that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to remove our grievance under this head.

8. The insufficient number of openings on the said section of the railway is another source of trouble to the people of the district as it increases the number of water-logged areas, causing damage to some roads and thoroughfares, and making this district more malarious. It is a well-known fact that the district has become notoriously malarious since the construction of the Katihar-Godagari Railway line through it and we venture to think that the unsatisfactory mode of digging burrow-pits on either side of the railway line and the paucity of culverts and bridges along that line have something to do with the spread of Malaria in the district. We, therefore, beg to approach Your Excellency with the humble prayer that Your

Excellency will be graciously pleased to direct the railway authorities to make more openings in the Katihar-Godagari line and so to level and connect the burrow-pits on either side, as to make them serve the purpose of natural drainage to the country around.

9. In conclusion, we devoutly pray to the Almighty that he may grant Your Excellency and Lady Lytton longevity, health and peace.

Address presented by the Members of the Malda Muhammadan Association, on 24th November 1924.

We, the members of the Malda Muhammadan Association, most respectfully beg to offer Your Excellency our warm and cordial welcome on the occasion of Your Excellency's first visit to this historic district of Malda.

2. We venture to embrace this auspicious occasion to express our deep sense of loyalty and sincere devotion to His Most Gracious Majesty our King-Emperor.

3. We congratulate ourselves on welcoming Your Excellency to this district which contains the ruins of the magnificent cities of Gaur and Pandua, which were for centuries the seats of Government of Muhammadan kings, and in the former of which lived at one time two million souls, about twice the population of Calcutta, the present metropolis of Bengal.

4. We venture to lay before Your Excellency some of our pressing wants and grievances, and earnestly pray that Your Excellency will deign to lend a kind and sympathetic ear to them and redress or help in redressing them as far as it lies in Your Excellency's power to do so.

5. For reasons too well known to mention, we crave leave to approach Your Excellency with an earnest prayer that communal representations on the basis of population with a separate electorate be granted to the Moslems in the Municipalities,

District and Local Boards and other local bodies of this province where the Moslem population preponderates.

6. Your Excellency, we smart under a sense of great inadequacy of Moslem representation in the various Government services of this province, and as there is now no dearth of competent Muhammadan candidates, our humble and modest prayer in this connection is that at least half of the Government appointments of all sorts whether superior, inferior or ministerial, and whether officiating, substantive or temporary, be given to the Muhammadans, and especially to the Muhammadans of this district where they constitute over half of the entire population. We also pray that timely notice and wide publicity be given to any vacancy occurring, especially in the Ministerial Department.

7. Your Excellency, the recent drastic curtailment of Muhammadan holidays has caused great chagrin and heart-burning amongst our community. In the civil courts, the Muharram holidays have been reduced from five days to two and the Id-uz-zuhá from two to one, while the very important holidays of Shab-i-barát and Akhiri chabar shamba have been deleted from the holiday list of the current year. In the result, out of the 12 days allotted to the Muhammadans, 'only' six have been retained, so that a clean cut of 50 per cent. has been effected in the case of Moslem holidays, while only about 20 per cent. of the Hindu holidays have been curtailed, their present number being approximately 40 as against 50 last year. Further even these six days will not be fully availed of by Moslems, as, contrary to previous practice, no

*provision for alternative days has been made in this year's list of public holidays, a provision which is absolutely necessary, in view of the fact that the exact dates of the Muhammadan festivals depend on the visibility or otherwise of the moon on a particular day and cannot be ascertained beforehand. Muhammadan holidays under the Negotiable Instruments Act have been similarly dealt with. It will not be out of place here to mention, that even in the sister provinces of Assam and Bihar and Orissa where the Muhammadans are in a minority, Muhammadan holidays have been curtailed only to a very slight extent. On these facts and circumstances and having regard to the Muhammadan majority in the province, our very humble and modest prayer to Your Excellency is that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased, *firstly*, not to curtail the number of Muhammadan holidays which was in force from time immemorial in the civil and criminal courts and in Government offices of this province, and *secondly*, in order to obviate the anomaly and dislocation of public business arising out of the uncertainty as to the visibility of the moon, to add an extra day to each set of Muhammadan holidays.

8. Your Excellency, the existing division of the English Bazar Municipality into wards as well as the allotment of seats open to election for each ward have been a source of great hardship and disappointment to the Moslem rate-payers of this Municipality, resulting in the return, on an average, of only three Muhammadan Commissioners out of the 12 seats open to election. This is quite disproportionate to the number of Muhammadan voters

of the Municipality of which by far the largest number reside in Ward No. 2, which again is inordinately large both in area and the number of voters, but to which only three seats are allotted in contradistinction to Ward No. 1 to which, though about half of Ward No. 2, four seats have been allotted. We, therefore, most respectfully pray that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to allot at least five seats to Ward No. 2 or to readjust the wards and seats for each ward, in such a way that the Muhammadans may not be handicapped in the matter of election for so long as the separate communal representation for which we have already prayed is not granted to the Moslems.

9. We are deeply indebted to Government for having inaugurated in this district a system of co-operative credit societies, both rural and urban, by which the public, especially the poor and cultivating classes, have to some extent been relieved from the clutches of local money-lenders. What is urgently needed and what we most earnestly pray for is a speedy extension of the system throughout the district so that every village or group of villages may have a society of its own.

10. The want of a permanent District Judge's court at Malda is keenly felt by the people of this district. The journey to and from Rajshahi, where the District Judge resides, is very troublesome, while the communication by post takes three days. Litigants are put to considerable hardship and expense in filing criminal appeals and in moving civil and criminal petitions of a peremptory nature before the District Judge at Rajshahi, as also in

obtaining copies of records of civil cases which are kept there. Nor has the public grievance been lessened by the present arrangement of deputing to this district the Subordinate Judge of Rajshahi twice in a year, each time for one month only, inasmuch as it has entailed unnecessary delay and postponement of cases, sometimes extending over four years. We, therefore, approach Your Excellency with a humble prayer for the posting of a permanent District Judge at Malda, where there is sufficient work for him, or an Additional District Judge as at Bogra, to which district or to Bankura, where there is a permanent District Judge, Malda is by no means inferior, nay in some respects superior; should, however, this prayer of ours be not conceded, we, as a last resort, pray in the alternative that a permanent Assistant Sessions Judge or even a permanent Subordinate Judge be posted here with all the necessary powers of a District Judge.

11. We avail ourselves of this unique opportunity to lay before Your Excellency another grievance of ours which is of a far-reaching importance. The River Kalindri, which is one of the principal rivers of this district, remains for the greater part of the year stagnant and unconnected with the Ganges of which it was formerly a branch. The idea of having a permanent connection with the Ganges is now, it is said, an impracticable one. There is, however, another river, called the Kankar, which now falls into the Ganges, but which may easily be made to flow into the Kalindri throughout the year as it did formerly. Could we but count upon Your Excellency's help in this matter,

so as to secure a constant current in the Kalindri, it would be a veritable boon to the people of this district. We, therefore, venture to 'approach Your Excellency with a humble prayer that steps may be taken so as to maintain a permanent connection of the Kalindri with the Kankar by removing the obstructing silt at the junction of the two rivers or by such other means as the experts think proper and feasible.

12. Finally, we crave leave to invite Your Excellency's attention to the great inconvenience and hardship caused to the people of this district by the stoppage of the two night trains, one up and one down, in the Katihar-Godagari Section of the Eastern Bengal Railway. We now have practically only one train available to us within 24 hours for the journey to Calcutta, the existing down local train having no ferry service at Godagari or corresponding train at Lalgola. We, therefore, most humbly pray for the resumption of the running of the said two night trains, especially as it is understood that all other trains stopped for financial reasons in other sections of the railway have now been running.

13. In conclusion, we fervently pray to God that He may vouchsafe to Your Excellency a long lease of life and uninterrupted prosperity.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Addresses
presented at Malda, on 24th November
1924.***

GENTLEMEN,

I am very grateful to you for the kind words of welcome which are contained in your addresses and also for your declaration of loyalty to the throne and person of His Majesty the King-Emperor. Unfortunately Lady Lytton was unable to accompany me on this occasion, but my daughter, who has not yet visited any other place with me on tour, is with me to-day and we are both looking forward to making the acquaintance of the interesting features of your district.

I have on many occasions emphasized the importance of a Governor's tours through his province. They give him a valuable knowledge of local conditions and introduce him to those who are responsible for local administration. If I remained always in Calcutta or Darjeeling, I should know very little more about Bengal at the end of five years than I did when I arrived, but by travelling throughout the province I have learnt that there are many matters which vitally affect the health and happiness of the people which are scarcely mentioned in the public Press or in the debates of the Legislative Council. At this moment it is more necessary than ever for me to see the local conditions for myself and I have been deprived of the advice of the Ministers whom the constitution provided as the channel of

communication between the Government and the constituencies. Complete responsibility for those departments of Government which most directly affect the well-being of the people was transferred by the last Government of India Act to Ministers who were to be chosen from the majority in the Legislative Council. During the last year, however, for reasons which you may be able to understand better than I can, the majority of the Bengal Legislative Council instead of exercising its right to provide the Ministers, who would control the policy of these departments, has refused to provide for any Ministers at all and has compelled me to take upon myself the temporary administration of these transferred subjects.

Instead, therefore, of Ministers, who are responsible to the Legislative Council and so ultimately to the electorate to guide your destinies, the Governor himself has the administration in his own hands, and according to the constitution he is responsible for the conduct of these subjects neither to the Legislative Council nor to the British Parliament, so long as the present conditions continue. You may, perhaps, therefore, imagine that I have the powers of an autocrat in respect of these departments, and that, as I am not responsible to the Legislative Council, I can give you what assistance I consider right at my own discretion: but, of course, it is no more possible for me than it was for my late Ministers or than it would be for any Ministers even under a system of full responsible Government to administer the departments according to mere personal whims. I cannot ignore the advice of my trained advisers:

I cannot spend more money than the revenue provides: I cannot take away money from one district and give it to another. I have to balance the conflicting claims and interests of all parts of the province and to do my best to promote the welfare of the whole with the limited means at my disposal.

One of the most important subjects for which I am now responsible is that of Public Health—it is the foundation on which the prosperity of the province in other directions must be built.

Now, the health of the public may be pursued either by the prevention or by the treatment of disease. By prevention I mean the improvement of the conditions and environment which determine the general state of the public health and foremost amongst these conditions are a pure water-supply and adequate drainage; by treatment I mean the provision of medical aid and the resources for curing disease, thereby minimising its evil effects.

Let me deal first with the preventive aspect of this question which is by far the more important; you, in this district, are faced with the problem of a pure water-supply both in the town and in the rural area and also with that of the satisfactory drainage of the town. You tell me that Lord Carmichael once promised a grant of Rs. 40,000 towards the waterworks of this town; that is so, but the grant was contingent upon the provision of certain other amounts from other sources and its amount was based on estimates made 11 years ago. The contingent amounts were not forthcoming and the cost of the scheme has now so

largely increased that it has been decided to experiment with tube-wells, which will supply a slightly cheaper system. As you remind me, Government has sanctioned Rs. 11,000 to meet the cost of this trial boring and the Chief Engineer in the Public Health Department will complete it during this cold weather. On its success or failure will depend the nature of the scheme of water-works which is finally adopted, and it is clear that no definite decision on this point can be reached and no specific help promised until the result of the experiment is known. In any case the Municipality will have to formulate their proposals for financing the scheme and meeting the recurring expenditure before Government can commit themselves to making any grant. As I think you know before any new scheme is taken up the allocation of funds for it has to be approved by the Government as a whole before provision can be made in the budget; but, if funds are available when the main scheme is ready and the Government as a whole approves the allocation of funds, we shall be prepared to make a grant up to one-third of the total cost of the scheme, this one-third including the grant of Rs. 11,000 already made.

The question of water-supply is a problem with which the District Board also is faced and you tell me that you have already applied for a loan of half a lakh to enable you to carry out a comprehensive scheme of rural water-supply. Your idea, I understand, is to sink by means of such a loan a large number of wells within a year or two instead of constructing a very small number each year out of the income for that year. There is a great deal to

he said, for the idea, provided that the whole programme is well thought out in advance and carefully considered in relation to its component parts, but Government require, and have asked for, fuller information as to the precise manner in which you propose to spend the loan and provide the loan charges. As soon as we have received this information we shall consider your proposals.

Your further request that the loan should be granted on easy terms is in effect a but slightly veiled request that part of the half lakh for which you ask should be in the nature of a grant. I realize that this Board is a comparatively poor one, but even so I am afraid we cannot issue loans at lower than the ordinary market rate prevailing for Government loans. I do not say that Government should not or cannot make any contribution towards the cost of supplying water in the rural districts. What I do say is that Government cannot make grants to any one district alone and the possibility of giving assistance to all must depend upon the nature of the assistance required and the total cost of giving it. This question has been so frequently brought to my notice in the last two years that I have asked my advisers to try and evolve some practical scheme. My late Ministers were at work upon it before they were forced to resign, and I hope to have something ready for the consideration of new Ministers when they are appointed.

The Municipality have also under contemplation the extension of the drainage scheme; but I am informed that no scheme has yet been submitted to

the Sanitary Board. The Commissioners should request the Chief Engineer of the Public Health Department to prepare a scheme and submit it to the Board, and, if it meets with the Board's approval, Government will be prepared to give favourable consideration to proposals for a grant of part of the cost: that we should contribute the whole cost is, I need hardly say, out of the question.

Now let me turn for a minute to the other aspect of the public health problem; namely, the question of the treatment of disease. I understand that owing to the generosity of the Raja of Chanchal and the Bais Hazari Wakf Estate you have recently been put in the position of providing the outdoor dispensary which has long been a pressing local need, but that you still require a new Surgical Ward. I should like to offer my thanks and congratulations to your two benefactors and as a practical mark of our appreciation Government will give you Rs. 3,000 during the current year for the construction of the Surgical Ward. I hope that with this encouragement you will yourselves be able to meet the cost of the appliances which you need.

I shall now deal with the questions coming within the jurisdiction of the Local Self-Government Department proper. The first question concerns the ferry receipts, for which both the Municipality and the District Board put in claims.

The Municipality refers to an arrangement dating back to 1904, when certain ferries, the

income of which was shared by the two bodies, were made over to the District Board entirely and a fixed sum of Rs. 650, being half of the average income at that time, was granted to the Municipality. The latter claim that, with the increase of the income from these ferries from Rs. 1,300 to Rs. 2,800, they have a right to expect their grant to be raised. But I am afraid that I can only repeat what Lord Ronaldshay said here five years ago, that this claim can be settled only by negotiation between the two bodies; and its settlement is likely to be difficult and complicated, for the District Board can obviously put forward as a set-off against the municipal claim the very considerable amount spent on the roads leading to the ferries: and no doubt other considerations would be raised.

The District Board's request is one which has been made at nearly every district headquarters which I have visited. I have been so impressed with the frequency with which the claim has been preferred and the force of the arguments which have been advanced in its favour that I have decided to have the matter reconsidered on its merits. It would mean a surrender of one source of provincial revenues and, therefore, no decision can be taken on the subject while we are faced with the liability next year for a contribution of Rs. 63 lakhs to the Government of India which has been remitted for the last three years. We, of course, hope that the justice of our case, which obtained the last remission, will again be admitted, but until we are finally relieved of this anxiety, we cannot surrender even a fraction of our existing revenue.

In connection with questions which concern Local Self-Government Department, it will be appropriate to deal with two pleas, raised by the Muhammadan Association. One is a general plea for communal representation on local bodies, and the other a particular complaint regarding the distribution of seats over the respective wards of the Municipality.

With regard to the former request, the system of communal electorates has recently been introduced into the Calcutta Corporation, but Government are not at present disposed to extend the system to the mufassal. I fully sympathize with the Muhammadan fears that their interests even in municipal matters would not be safe at the hands of a mixed electorate and I realize that there can be no advance in the principle of representation unless these fears can be removed. But Government regard the principle of communal representation as contrary to the spirit of true nationalism and are anxious to hasten the day when this particular crutch can be dispensed with. The final decision will have to be taken by the Legislative Council as it was in the case of the Calcutta Municipal Act.

As to the particular complaint that the present distribution of seats on the Municipality among the various wards is a source of hardship to the Muhammadans and needs readjustment, I admit that there appears to be some force in the contention of the Association, and the Local Self-Government Department propose to take the matter up with the Municipality and local officers to see if a fairer distribution can be secured.

• While on this subject of safeguarding Muhammadan interests, I may take the opportunity of announcing what will be of special interest to the Muhammadan Association, that Government have been pleased to make a free gift to the Committee of the Model Madrassa of the land now occupied by it, subject, of course, to the usual conditions. As the market value of this land is nearly six thousand rupees, I think you will agree that Government have contributed generously to the furtherance of Muhammadan education in this district.

I am glad to see that the Muhammadan Association appreciate the benefits, especially to the cultivating classes, of the co-operative movement and I sympathize with their desire to see it extended so as to embrace every village in the district. Those of you, who sincerely believe in the value of the co-operative movement, can yourselves help materially to extend it by explaining its principles and pointing out the way in which it can benefit the cultivators. This work requires real enthusiasm and sustained effort, but if even one family is thereby saved in time of distress the reward is sufficient to repay all the labour that has been expended. In all the efforts you may make to spread the growth of these societies the Co-operative Department of Government will always be ready to give you advice and help.

So far I have dealt only with matters connected with the transferred departments. I shall now refer briefly to matters belonging to the reserved half of Government and central subjects.

Let me begin with the Judicial Department. There seems to be a general desire here for greater

facilities for the administration of justice and it is natural that you should want the higher courts to be brought within easy reach; but the returns show that there is not enough work for an Additional Judge in Malda and we should not, therefore, be justified in incurring the cost of posting such an officer here. I have, however, directed the department to examine your request and to advise me whether we cannot meet it in some other way such as by extending the period of deputation of the Subordinate Judge, who now comes to Malda for two months in the year, and vesting him with the powers of an Assistant Sessions Judge.

I shall next deal with your grievances in connection with the railway. The discontinuance of the night through train was necessitated by financial considerations; I realize that this must be a real inconvenience to the public, and I should advise the Associations to represent the matter to the Eastern Bengal Railway Advisory Board, which has been constituted for this kind of purpose.

The inconvenience caused by the want of a bridge between the town and the railway station is a matter in which the initiative should be taken by the District Board, though Government will be prepared to consider the question of helping them in any practical scheme.

The Superintending Engineer of this Circle has been asked to make careful enquiries to ascertain any cases of obstructed drainage in Northern Bengal, but I am afraid we cannot commend to the railway your suggestion for linking up the burrow-pits, as this would invite a swift flow of water at

the toe of the embankments and thus endanger them.

It is a frequent experience in Bengal that hitherto healthy and prosperous towns deteriorate owing to changes in the water courses. Such you tell me is your experience here and you ask Government to remedy this by reopening the mouth of the Kalindri. I understand, however, that nature has already shown signs of anticipating us and the Kankar is now passing into the Kalindri and thus restoring the flow past Malda into the Mahananda. The officer-in-charge of the Irrigation Subdivision, which has recently been opened at Rampur Boalia for the express purpose of investigating the condition of the rivers in these parts, is being instructed to report whether it will be necessary for Government to take any steps to help nature in her work.

The curtailment of holidays is part of the action taken on the Retrenchment Committee's Report, but I believe I am right in saying that in this district the Muhammadans have not themselves suffered in practice. The question of alternative days for the Muharram and Id-uz-zuha has been under consideration and Government have decided that when the festival falls earlier or later than was anticipated, the extra day will be treated as an executive holiday.

Gentlemen, having dealt with the principal matters of local interest raised in your addresses, I propose to conclude with a few remarks on the general political situation. It is not my practice, as a rule, on these occasions to mention subjects of general political interest which have not been

raised in the addresses to which I am replying, but the present moment is so critical, and the latest action of my Government in obtaining from the Viceroy altogether exceptional powers for suppressing what we regard as a very serious menace to the safety of the State and to the liberty of its citizens has not unnaturally created so great a sensation that I feel bound to utilize the first opportunity I have had of speaking in public since the recent Ordinance was issued, to say a few words in explanation and justification of it.

I want in the first place to make clear what is the nature of the menace with which we are threatened. The danger does not come from any popular movement. There is no spirit of revolt in the hearts of the people of Bengal. There is no specially acute economic distress to cause a general unrest in the country. Political discontent and political activities have now an outlet they never had before, and for the first time in the history of India directly elected representatives of the people have been given a place in the executive government. The peace of Bengal and the lives of its citizens are threatened by no popular uprising, but by a comparatively small body of men who have introduced methods of terrorism into their political programme and are seeking to murder those whom they hate or fear, to overawe by threats of murder those whose political activities are inconvenient or objectionable to them, to import foreign arms and ammunition into the country for the purpose of making their terrorism effective. This conspiracy of violence has already revealed the following characteristics.

Peaceful citizens wholly unconnected with politics in the innocent pursuit of their lawful avocations, have been murdered in broad daylight. Robberies with violence have been committed to secure funds for the terrorist organization. Men suspected of giving information to the police have been assassinated. Witnesses in trials for offences connected with politics have been threatened with assassination, and intimidation has thus interfered with the administration of justice. Not only have police officers and Government officials been similarly threatened, but even candidates for election to and members of the Legislative Council have been intimidated with threats of murder if they do not conform to the wishes of the self-styled patriots. All the weapons, by which the murders have been committed in the last eighteen months, are of a foreign type which cannot be obtained in this country. Bombs of a very modern and efficient type have been manufactured. One such factory was discovered by the police in Calcutta, and the recent murder in Mirzapur Street was committed with a bomb of this type. Since July last threatening leaflets signed "Red Bengal" have made their appearance, and these have been served on all persons who have had any connection, however remote, with the political actions of Government.

Gentlemen, if I am asked for evidence of the existence of a terrorist conspiracy in Bengal, I point to all these things, which are not opinions or theories, but facts; and whatever may be said in the Press, no one who knows these facts can fail to believe in the reality of this terrorist movement.

If that be so, I ask you where is the liberty which I am accused of destroying? I am supposed to be interfering with the freedom of the subject by keeping men under arrest without trial. Men who live within the law are entitled to the protection of the law. But men who defy the law, who live and act outside the law, who menace the liberty of those who live within it, who take upon themselves to decide without any process of law who shall live and who shall die, these men have no right to the protection of the law—they are outlaws, they are a danger to the State, and their liberty is forfeited. It is against such men and such men alone, that the Special Powers which my Government have asked for and have obtained are being directed. Every single man, who has been arrested under Regulation III of 1818 or under the new Ordinance, is a member of a terrorist organization that seeks to attain its objects by violence and intimidation, that proposes, if not checked, to carry out more murders. Every man, too, who has been arrested is being detained, not on the isolated statements of a single informer, but on evidence from many different sources unknown to each other, spread over many months, which has to satisfy the Government of Bengal, as well as two independent Judges, and in the case of the Regulation III prisoners the Government of India and the Viceroy himself—probably the best trained lawyer in India—that he is not merely a member of, but an active participator in, this terrorist conspiracy.

My object is not to suppress or hamper any political movement which is conducted within the law, but to make it possible for all men, whatever their political opinions, to express them freely

without fear of assassination. The effect of our policy will be not to interfere with liberty, but to establish it. Unless this terrorist movement is suppressed, there can be no liberty in Bengal and it is the duty of all those who live within the law, who desire its protection, and who wish to be free from intimidation in the pursuit of their lawful business to support the Government in the steps they have taken to stamp out the use of the bomb and the revolver.

I am told that we cannot crush the spirit of freedom in a nation, nor stifle its desire for political independence by coercion. That is not only true but obvious, and if our measures were directed against any deep-rooted popular movement, they would be bound to fail; but as I have told you they are directed against no such thing. Why should I, of all people, wish to crush the political freedom of the people of Bengal when it is for the express purpose of enabling them to secure political freedom and develop self-governing institutions that I have come to Bengal?

If Government were ever to allow a single organization to intimidate all others and to decide the issues of life and death, it would forfeit its right to exist and all liberty would be dead. This particular menace *can* be stamped out by what is called repression, and by no other means. It is repression of crime, but not repression of liberty. The measures we are taking have been effective in the past and they will be effective again. No misrepresentations or abuse or threats will move us one inch from the path of duty which, in the interests of the State, confided to our charge, we are bound to tread.

***His Excellency's Address to the Recipients
of Sanads at the public reception at
Maida, on 24th November 1924.***

RAI SAHIB PANCHANAN MAZUMDAR—

You have always shown great public spirit and courage in the execution of your duties and have always been to the fore in work for the public good. You were a pioneer of the co-operative movement in this district and the founder of the local central bank. In this way you have set a fine example of the kind of work to which I referred to my speech just now and I hope it will be followed by others in this district. You are a member of most of the public committees and you did very helpful work during the war. Your services are greatly appreciated.

KHAN SAHIB MAULVI ABDUL GHANI—

You have always used the great influence which you enjoy amongst your fellow-Muhammadans in this district to good effect. In the days of non-co-operation you gave sound and sober advice to your followers and contributed to the success of the campaign against that movement: your help was of material assistance to the well-being of your fellow-countrymen.

Address presented by the Members of the Dinajpur Municipality, on 26th November 1924.

We, the members of the Dinajpur Municipality, on behalf of ourselves and other residents of the town of Dinajpur, beg to approach Your Excellency to offer our cordial, and respectful welcome to Your Excellency on this occasion of your first visit to this ancient and historic town, and we beg to take this opportunity to express our most sincere and heartfelt loyalty to the person and throne of our Most Gracious Sovereign.

2. We beg leave to bring to Your Excellency's notice that the defective drainage of the town has been a standing menace to the health of its residents. In the year 1916, a drainage scheme was prepared by the Sanitary Engineer involving a cost of Rs. 2,75,000. The most necessary part of the scheme, namely, the making of the beds of the Ghagra and the Kachai Nala *pucka*, which was estimated at Rs. 1,20,000, could not be effected for want of necessary funds, and we look to Your Excellency's Government for the improvement of the drainage of our town.

3. The north-western portion of the town is inundated almost every year by the rising of the Punarbhaba River causing much distress among the inhabitants of the locality. The construction of a protective embankment, in continuation of the existing one, is absolutely necessary. The cost of this, which is estimated at Rs. 20,000, cannot be met from municipal funds, and we hope that Your

Excellency's Government would help us in this matter.

4. One of the main causes of the flooding of certain portions of the town is the closing of the two spans of the railway bridge over the River Punar-bhaba by the Eastern Bengal Railway authorities and the opening of the said two spans is necessary for the prevention of the flood. We beg that the matter would receive the kind attention of Your Excellency's Government.

5. Much difficulty has been felt in keeping the roads, which are made and repaired with stone-metal, in a proper state of repair for want of a steam-roller, and we beg that Your Excellency's Government would help us in this matter.

6. The construction of a separate ward in our hospital for patients suffering from *Kala-Azar*, Black Water Fever and other tropical diseases, with a clinical laboratory attached, is very necessary and we depend on the help from Your Excellency's Government for it.

7. In conclusion, we pray most fervently for Your Excellency's sound health and a happy and prosperous career.

Address presented by the Members of the Dinajpur District Board, on 26th November 1924.

We, the members of the Dinajpur District Board, on behalf of ourselves and the people of this district, humbly beg leave to offer our respectful welcome to Your Excellency on the occasion of Your Excellency's first visit to this historic town.

2. The District Board of Dinajpur was constituted in 1887 and the members were all nominated by Government till 1920 when the elective system was first introduced in this district and the people were given the opportunity of managing their local affairs themselves. Our responsibilities are great, but the funds at our disposal are too inadequate to allow us to discharge them to their full extent.

3. The district of Dinajpur is notoriously unhealthy. Malaria and *Kala-Azar* have been carrying off a large number of people every year. In order to minimise the havoc caused by these diseases, approximately 84 dispensaries will be needed. In 1921, the non-official *regime* started with 20 dispensaries, 14 of class III-B and 6 of class IV, besides 5 of class V dispensaries which owed their existence to the liberal support of some of the leading zamindars of the district. We have opened since then 18 more dispensaries, *viz.*, 6 of class III and 12 of class IV. These are experimental dispensaries which have been mostly started in temporary houses for want of funds. Still about 40 more dispensaries will have to be opened, so that we can have one dispensary (roughly

speaking) for every 50 square miles, and for every 20,000 people. We are grateful to the Government for the annual contribution of Rs. 2,000 as the partial cost of the maintenance of three thana and two village dispensaries. Out of our limited resources we have, however, to spend for all the dispensaries about Rs. 60,000 a year and we cannot afford to allot any further sum for the purpose. A heavy sum of money has to be spent every year for the maintenance of a staff of the Public Health Department of the Board, and we cannot afford to launch the scheme of major or minor operations for combating Malaria, and other fell diseases. We have, however, been utilizing this department for the prevention of the spread of epidemic diseases, and we are successfully checking these diseases as promptly as possible.

4. In order to combat *Kala-Azar* we have trained all our medical men in Antimony treatment and have appointed two itinerant doctors for treating the people in affected areas. Many more of such doctors are required, but we cannot employ them for want of funds.

5. The Board is keenly feeling the necessity of starting a small clinical laboratory for proper diagnosis, but it has not been able to do so for inadequacy of funds.

6. There are only 1,269 primary schools in the district and the area of the district is 3,946 square miles. We have thus one school for every three square miles and a quarter, whereas we require at least one school for every square mile. The people of the district are very backward in education, and the sooner we can open a sufficient number of

schools, the better for the improvement of the country. The Board spends annually on the head "Education" a sum of about Rs. 1,07,000 including the Government contribution of Rs. 5,500 a year. The Board cannot afford to spend anything more on this head with its present income.

7. The Board has to maintain 1,400 miles of roads and it cannot afford to spend more than Rs. 80,000 a year for their maintenance. The entire trade of the district depends on these roads, as the mileage of railways in the district is very small and as there are practically no rivers which are navigable throughout the year. There are 75,000 carts in the district and an equal number of carts regularly come from the neighbouring districts. The soil of the country is not suitable for good *kulcha* roads in many places and specially during the rains cannot stand the heavy cart traffic for the purpose of carrying jute to very distant railway stations. The result has been that the jute producers in the interior of the district have entirely to depend on the mercy of the middlemen and other speculators. The material prosperity of the people is much affected for want of adequate communication. The remedy would lie in provincialising some of the main roads of the district and having them stone-metalled and to open up railway communications to the main centres of trade in the district.

8. As regards water-supply, the Board has been sinking a large number of wells every year and during the last three years about 500 wells have been sunk. Many thousands of wells will have to be added before the question of water-supply to the

villages can be solved. It will take years to do this, but the work can be expedited if sufficient money is available.

9. We have, in short, narrated our requirements with the hope that Your Excellency's Government will come to our rescue to meet the situation and to help us to discharge our responsibilities properly and efficiently.

10. In conclusion, we beg to assure Your Excellency that we have been doing and will continue to do, with the limited income at our disposal, all that is possible for the well-being of the people entrusted to our care.

With fervent prayer to the Almighty for the health and prosperity of Your Excellency.

Address presented by the Members of the Dinajpur Landholders' Association, on 26th November 1924

We, the members of the Dinajpur Landholders' Association, for ourselves and on behalf of and representing the zamindars of the district of Dinajpur, beg leave to approach Your Excellency to offer you our most respectful and cordial welcome on the occasion of your first visit to this town.

2. Rice, jute and sugar-cane are the main crops of the district, but the continued low price of jute, which is the mainstay of the Thakurgaon Subdivision for years together, owing to the manipulation of the capitalists, specially foreign, has affected both the zamindars and the tenants and has seriously hampered the cultivation of the crop.

3. For some time past there have been carried on *anti-zamindar* propagandas through ill-informed persons and through certain sections of the Press with the result that no good has been done to anybody, but rather much ill feeling has been aroused, where there had been none, against the zamindars, who have always stood by the Government in all causes having a beneficial effect to the country, and who cherish the hope that the rights and privileges enjoyed by them will be amply safe at the hands of the Government.

4. It is a matter of great concern to the people of the district that the once flourishing cottage

industries of Dinajpur, the manufacture of gunny and gunny bags amongst them, have been fast deteriorating for want of due encouragement, and we earnestly hope that Your Excellency's Government would help their revival.

5. The trade of the district has been materially suffering for want of adequate railway communications, and we hope that early steps will be taken to remove this crying need.

6. We beg to assure Your Excellency of our staunch and unswerving loyalty to the throne and person of our beloved Sovereign.

With fervent prayers for Your Excellency's health, long life and prosperity.

*Address presented by the Members of the
Muhammadian Association, Dinajpur, on 26th
November 1924.*

We, the members of the Muhammadian Association, Dinajpur, on our own behalf and on behalf of the Muhammadian population of the district, beg to offer to Your Excellency our most hearty and respectful welcome on this occasion of Your Excellency's visit to this ancient town.

2. We take this opportunity to express our sincere and loyal devotion to the person and throne of His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor of India.

3. We beg to submit that the Muhammadans of Dinajpur constitute nearly 50 per cent. of the total population and that they are very backward in education, and the amelioration of their condition depends entirely on the spread of education among them.

4. We beg to bring to Your Excellency's notice that the Muhammadian Hostel, Dinajpur, has very badly suffered from economic causes as well as from Non-co-operation movement and the number of boarders has in consequence dwindled from 63 to 20, and hence the chief source of income of the hostel has been adversely affected. The hostel authorities incurred debts in erecting a dining hall. To discharge these debts and to execute thorough repairs to the hostel buildings, they are in need of a sum of Rs. 1,000. We most humbly

pray that Your Excellency may be graciously pleased to grant a suitable contribution for the aforesaid object.

5. We are sorry to inform Your Excellency that the Bengal Tenancy Act remains unamended still, and we are afraid it will do so for a long time to come by the doings of our representatives to the Legislative Council. We would ask Your Excellency's Government to take up the matter as early as possible in order to bring about a settlement between the landholders and the tenants.

6. We take this opportunity to urge the claims of the educated Muhammadans of this district before Your Excellency. A few years ago there was a cry that Government could not find qualified Muhammadans, but now many Muhammadan graduates and under-graduates of this district are pining away being unsuccessful to enter into the Bengal Civil Service (Executive), the Subordinate Civil Service, in the Police, Excise, and Registration Departments and in the upper divisions of the ministerial posts. We beg to express our deep regret that Muhammadans are not fairly represented in the Judicial Branch of the Bengal Civil Service. We, therefore, pray that Your Excellency may be pleased to take such steps, as may be deemed necessary, to bring this to the notice of the Hon'ble High Court. We beg to convey our thanks to the heads of the departments who are trying to raise the number of Muhammadan ministerial officers to the minimum limit prescribed by the Government.

7. We beg further to bring to Your Excellency's kind notice that the need for a prayer-house, in the

vicinity of the courts, is keenly felt by the Muhammadan litigants of the civil and criminal courts, as well as by the Muhammadan employés and lawyers of these courts. At present they have to pray in the open in sun and rain, or to proceed to the nearest mosque which is a quarter of a mile from the courts. It often happens that parties go to the nearest mosque to offer their prayers when their cases are taken up in their absence and struck off for default. So we respectfully and earnestly pray that Your Excellency will grant us a suitable site near the courts and allow us to erect a *pucka* prayer-house on it at our own cost for which the Muhammadans of Dinajpur will ever remain grateful to Your Excellency.

8. We further beg to bring to Your Excellency's notice that a second maulvi is necessary in the local zilla school in order to allow Muhammadan boys to take up Arabic as their second language. As unlike most Government-managed high English schools, the Dinajpur Zilla School offers only Persian as second language, Moslem students desiring to take up Arabic do not come to the zilla school and that is one of the reasons why the number of Muhammadan boys has decreased in the zilla school.

9. We further beg to ask a contribution of Rs. 1,000 from Your Excellency's Government for the construction of a building for the Golapbag Junior Madrassa in this town, the Madrassa authorities finding the balance of the total cost.

We pray to the Great Almighty Father, for Your Excellency's long life and prosperity.

*Address presented by the Merchants of Dinajpur,
on 26th November 1924.*

We, the undersigned, on behalf of ourselves and representing the merchants of Dinajpur, beg most respectfully to offer a hearty welcome to Your Excellency on the occasion of Your Excellency's visit to this town.

2. The Merchant Association of Dinajpur has been in existence for about 150 years, though it was originally known as the "Panchayati." Most of the merchants and traders of this district are the members of our Association. It exercises a wholesome influence, not only on its members, but on the rural population, by encouraging trade and industries of the district and by settling disputes, whenever possible, arising out of business transactions.

3. Dinajpur is one of the most important business centres in Bengal. Dinajpur railway station probably yields the highest income to the railway administration in North Bengal. But the arrangement for the proper accommodation and safety of the goods is far from satisfactory. Some additional goods sheds should be constructed as very often paddy and other goods are stocked outside and left in the rains. A more efficient arrangement for adequate supply of goods wagons should be made during the busy season.

4. There is a railway line running east and west dividing the district into two halves, but there is no line running north and south through the

district, with the result that a considerable tract yielding largest agricultural produce has to depend upon country carts for its export.

Our prayer is that a railway line should pass through the town, connecting the two subdivisions of Thakurgaon and Balurghat and join it with the main line at Santabar.

5. The merchants and the traders of the town contribute the largest amount of taxes to the municipality. But the wards are so divided that they cannot ordinarily return more than two Commissioners to the municipality. We, therefore, beg to suggest that in appointing seven Commissioners our claims should be considered and at least two Commissioners should be nominated from the members of our Association.

6. Similarly, two members of our Association should be appointed to the District Board out of nine appointed members.

7. In conclusion, we beg to assure Your Excellency of our loyalty to the throne and person of our beloved Sovereign and our readiness to offer our humble co-operation and services in the cause of law and order, as our prosperity depends upon them, whenever they may be needed.

With fervent prayer for Your Excellency's health, long life and prosperity.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Addresses
presented at Dinajpur, on 26th November
1924.***

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you for your kind welcome and good wishes. I appreciate them all the more since they come at a time when abuse and misrepresentation is more common than charity or tolerance. I wish to begin my reply by explaining to you the procedure which all the proposals you submit to me have to go through before they can be carried out. I have noticed that the local bodies generally do not realize that new schemes, which involve expenditure from Government revenue, have to go through a considerable number of stages before they can be taken in hand and consequently there must be some delay in giving effect to them. It occurs to me, therefore, that it may be of some assistance if I briefly outline these stages, as this may help you to appreciate the position and to realize exactly what steps the local bodies have to take and what prospects the particular schemes have of being financed within the near future. Incidentally it may enable me to dispel the belief which still seems to be prevalent in some quarters that the Finance Department not only controls the purse, but also dominates the policy of Government. This is certainly not the case in Bengal at any rate, where that department performs its rightful function of examining schemes and expenditure from a technical point of view and of ensuring that

recognized financial canons are observed; you will observe that the Finance Member in this Government has no big spending department in his portfolio and thus has no more opportunity of dictating Government's policy than that which he possesses in common with other Members and Ministers. He has no bias in favour of any particular department and examines the schemes of all with equal impartiality.

Let us take as an example a new waterworks scheme, which involves some contribution from the public revenues. This scheme is first examined in the Local Self-Government Department which consults the Finance Department on the financial commitments in which it will involve Government; if the scheme and its commitments conform to the principles and policy recognized by Government, administrative approval will be given to the scheme, and it is then included in a list of approved schemes. If the Finance Department and the Administrative Department disagree, the decision of the Governor is invoked.

The second stage is the allocation of funds in the budget. As you know, the money available for new schemes is extremely limited (the more so just now while we have to face a demand that we should contribute 63 lakhs to the Government of India from next year—a contribution which has been remitted during the past three years) and so Government as a whole has to decide which of the various schemes in the approved list are most urgent and should be provided for in the budget; not only does the waterworks scheme have to compete with other waterworks schemes, but with

all kinds of projects from all other departments reserved and transferred. But the important point is that Government as a whole—and not the Finance Department—decides what schemes shall be recommended to the Legislative Council for the provision of money. This waterworks scheme then has first to obtain the approval of the Local Self-Government Department on its merits, and to satisfy the Finance Department that it is financially sound. Then it has to be considered by the whole Government in conjunction with other approved schemes, and if and when it is finally included in the budget demands, it has to be submitted to the Legislative Council. If the Legislative Council votes the amount required for the scheme, the work can be taken in hand during the year for which the budget provided.

Every single scheme has to go through all these stages and there is no short cut; if the public will only bear this in mind, they will, I think, appreciate the reason for the disappointing and hypothetical nature of some of my replies.

One often hears the statement, and it is repeated in your addresses, that this district is notoriously unhealthy; and the Municipality represent the need of a proper drainage scheme to help to remedy this so far as the town is concerned; yet if I am to believe the figures of mortality, recorded by the Municipality itself, the town of Dinajpur would appear to be one of the healthiest places in the whole world, and no drainage scheme or other improvement could possibly better it. It is clear that these figures must be wrong. Dinajpur is not the only place in which I have noticed this

discrepancy between official statistics and the facts which I find when visiting a district. There appears to be a very general indifference to the value of statistical information or great carelessness in its compilation. Instead of affording valuable information regarding the condition of the public health such figures as are available are often misleading and liable to produce entirely erroneous conclusions not only as to the health of the locality, but also as to the effect of measures taken to improve it. Government is frequently asked by a Municipality for assistance in introducing sanitary measures, in order to improve the health of the town, while the figures annually supplied by that Municipality itself belie the premises on which the request is based. I would, therefore, impress upon you and upon other municipalities in Bengal the value of a conscientious administration of the Registration of Births and Deaths Act.

As for the scheme which you propose for improving the health of your town, it is, as you say, extremely costly and you cannot, of course, embark upon it without some help from Government. But so far as I can learn, no steps have yet been taken to work out the sketch scheme which was prepared in 1916. It is clear that you must evolve a practical scheme showing how you can finance it and the proportion of the cost which will be met by local contribution. Government cannot undertake to make a large contribution from revenues for a local improvement where there are no signs of any portion of the liability being shouldered by the local people.

The District Board have rendered to me a good account of their stewardship in the matter of providing a rural water-supply. 'The progress sounds extremely satisfactory and promises well for the future of the villages, but for a complete solution of the problem, the co-operation or rather initiative of the villages themselves will be required. I hope the District Board realize the importance of using the village organizations as agencies for carrying out such works of local utility. As I said at Malda, Government are considering seriously the question how far provincial revenues should be used for dealing with the problem, and the proportion of the cost to be borne by Government and the local bodies, the system of distribution, and so forth. When the final proposals have been approved by Government, we hope that they will establish an important landmark in the history of public health in the province.

The District Board is further to be congratulated on the steps it has taken to provide additional facilities for medical relief by opening a number of dispensaries. Admirable though this example is, I hope you will not let your zeal in providing facilities for the treatment of disease blind you to the importance of organizing preventive measures. The necessity for treatment will be lessened with the increase of resources for prevention. The success achieved in Java in stamping out Cholera by the widespread use of cholera vaccine is a striking example of what can be done by an organized campaign of prevention; so, important as is the establishment of a net work of dispensaries,

we must not overlook the necessity of concerting measures for preventing and stamping out such diseases as Cholera, Small-pox and *Kala-Azar*. One method of attack is the appointment of Sub-Assistant Surgeons as District Health Officers; being itinerant officers, they would reach more people than those posted to dispensaries, and they would be able to educate the people in the elementary principles of hygiene, and at the same time they would be competent to diagnose and inoculate against *Kala-Azar* and Cholera. Statistics show that a number of thanas in this district have an unusually high average of mortality from Small-pox and they probably serve as foci of infection. Now, as you are no doubt aware, Small-pox is a disease which can easily be eliminated if proper measures are taken, and it would be wise for you to see what your District Health Officer can do to reduce the incidence of the disease. But he will, of course, need an adequate staff; for, successful as he has been hitherto, he cannot be expected to cope single handed with so vast a problem.

I am glad to hear that all the medical officers in the employ of the District Board have now been trained in *Kala-Azar* diagnosis and treatment, as the best prospect of reducing the incidence of disease here and in the province generally is by the employment of qualified itinerant doctors. Recognizing the importance of this, Government is now considering the question of augmenting the local staff by means of trained Sanitary Inspectors and Assistant Health Officers.

The Municipality and the District Board have both referred to the need of a clinical laboratory,

and the former press for the construction of a separate ward for the treatment of *Kala-Azar* and kindred diseases. Government realizes the benefits which would accrue to the whole district from the establishment of such a ward and laboratory, and, if the two bodies will draw up a joint scheme in consultation with the Magistrate and the Civil Surgeon, Government will do their best to assist in financing the combined scheme.

It has been suggested that part at least of your requirements might be met by the replenishment of the Sadar Hospital laboratory, which might be used also by the District and the Municipal Health Officers, whom I am sure the Civil Surgeon would welcome there. I hope to have an opportunity of discussing the matter while I am here.

Various questions have been raised in connection with education.

I am glad to see the importance you attach to the spread of primary education and I think you will admit that Government have treated this district quite generously in the matter of grants; but I am afraid you have not made full use of these grants, as I understand that grants, which have been made from time to time for repairs, have not been fully utilized and I understand that the Board still has an unspent balance of Rs. 3,000 from such grants. Moreover, a sum of Rs. 6,000 for the establishment of six additional panchayati union schools is lying unspent with the Board. Until these schools are opened and the Rs. 3,000 spent, it will be premature to consider the question of a further grant.

I also agree with the Muhammadan Association when they say that the best means of ameliorating the condition of their community is to be found in the spread of education and I shall now deal shortly with the various requests which they make. Towards the debts incurred in the hostel buildings and the sum required for putting them into thorough repair, Government will be pleased to contribute Rs. 1,000 if the Committee will apply to the Education Department through the Inspector of Schools. I hope this will enable you to clear off all your liabilities.

The next request is for the appointment of a second maulvi for the zilla school. The proposal of the Director of Public Instruction to this effect is now being considered by Government and an endeavour will be made to create the post from the next financial year.

A third request is for a contribution of Rs. 1,000 towards the cost of constructing a building for the Golapbagh Junior Madrassa. I understand that the present site and accommodation are entirely unsatisfactory, but it is clear that nothing can be done until the Managing Committee selects a site and works out a practical scheme. You will then be able to submit an application in accordance with the ordinary rules; when this is done the application will be favourably considered by the Director of Public Instruction who will sanction a grant admissible under the rules as soon as the usual formalities are completed.

So much for the educational questions which you have raised.

You complain that part of the town is regularly flooded and you attribute this in part at least to the action of the railway authorities in keeping two of the spans of the railway bridge closed. I understand that this was done because it was found that there was no discharge through these spans and that the bridge offered no real obstruction to the flow of water.

To remedy this state of affairs you ask for the opening of these spans and also for the construction of a protective embankment. When you brought this latter request to my predecessor's notice he advised you to submit formal proposals to Government. I can find no record, however, of any such reference having been made and so the matter stands where it did five years ago. It is clearly impossible for the Municipality to finance a loan for the purpose, but if you can raise subscriptions to meet one-third of the cost, Government would make an effort to meet part of the balance of the expenditure.

As to the steam-roller, I am afraid Government cannot help you with funds for its purchase. I should advise you to consider the possibility of purchasing one by means of a loan, which it should be easily within your competence to finance.

Government cannot accept your proposal that the more important roads should be provincialized. It is the business of the District Board to provide for local communications, and we could not agree to accept new liabilities in this direction; the Retrenchment Committee, you will remember,

recommended a transfer in the opposite direction—namely, the maintenance of all roads by local bodies at their own expense.

The Merchants' Association ask that at least two Commissioners of the Municipality should be nominated from their members. On this occasion one member has been nominated, but it must be remembered that two of the elected Commissioners are merchants: Government uses the power of nomination for redressing inequalities in the election and for seeing that due consideration is given to the claims of all communities and interests. We cannot promise to adhere to any fixed distribution of the nominated seats, which must depend on the result of the elections. However, the local officers will, I have no doubt, bear in mind the general principle underlying the request. So also with the nominations to the District Board.

I am afraid it will be a long time before the railway projects for this area can take definite shape, but if the local bodies are prepared to guarantee such lines against loss we can address the Railway Board. Failing such guarantee, it will be of little use asking them to show any preference for this particular area.

As to the supply of additional goods-sheds and wagons, I understand that the present goods-sheds are considered adequate in comparison with other busy stations, but the Agent of the Railway has promised to bear your representations in mind. There is also a sufficient stock of wagons, but these have to be distributed among the various loading stations in proportion to their demands. As you can imagine, these demands are extremely heavy

during the busy jute season and so delays are inevitable.

The amendment of the Tenancy Act is an enormous undertaking; the Bill prepared by the Committee was circulated for opinions and it is now being revised in the light of the criticisms received. The revised draft will be ready before long and it is our intention to introduce it into the Legislative Council as soon as that body shows some indication of its willingness to turn its attention to constructive work and consider any legislative proposals on their merits. I regret to say that I see no such indication at present.

The Landholders' Association complains that the low price of jute has seriously handicapped the cultivation of the crop. But I understand that during 1923 and 1924 the prices have returned to something nearer their normal standard, owing to the removal of those natural causes such as the world wide trade depression following upon the great war, which were mainly responsible for the low prices which prevailed. No doubt better prices still would be obtained, if the raiyats could be organized on a co-operative basis for the sale of jute, but it is for you and other leaders of the public to move in the matter, and I feel sure that the Co-operative Department will be only too glad to place their experience and advice at your disposal.

With regard to the revival of cottage industries in the district, I have asked the Director of Industries to make the necessary enquiries in connection with weaving in the district, and, if he

finds that sufficient demand exists, to open a peripatetic weaving centre in the mufassal area of the district. I have also asked him to get into touch with the Landholders' Association and arrange for a demonstration of the improved spinning wheel and weaving loom, which have been improvised at the Serampore Weaving Institute, as I am told that the use of such improved appliances will be of great benefit to the local gunny weavers.

The Muhammadan Association ask for the grant of a site near the Courts on which they may erect a prayer-house for the convenience of the lawyers and litigants; but I am afraid that to grant you a site in the Court compound would interfere with the future expansion of the Court buildings, and I cannot really admit that there is any great necessity for such a house as you say that there are mosques and prayer-houses within a quarter of a mile of the Court.

The landholders may rest assured that their interests will be carefully guarded by Government, so far as these are compatible with the welfare of the tenants and the good of the community generally; and you can look to the Hon'ble Maharaja of Krishnagar adequately to represent the point of view of the zamindars in my Government. I may also remind you that four landholders' constituencies have been set up for electing representatives of the landholders to the Council, and these representatives should be able to protect your interests and voice your opinions in the Council.

Gentlemen, in conclusion, I desire to supplement the remarks which I made two days ago at Malda on the general political situation. I stated

then that the new Ordinance, which we have recently obtained from the Governor-General and the arrests which we have made under it, are directed not against any popular movement, but against a comparatively small number of persons who in defiance of the law are engaged in a conspiracy of intimidation and murder. I need not repeat what I then said regarding the menace of such a conspiracy to the safety of the State and the liberties of law-abiding citizens. The evidence of its existence and the danger of its spreading by continued recruitment cannot be denied. The need for its suppression cannot be disputed. The only points about which there can be any difference of opinion is whether we have found the true authors of this intimidation and whether the measures we have taken will effectively put an end to their activities. It is to these two points that I wish to direct my remarks to-day.

First, then, with regard to the organizers and members of this terrorist conspiracy. We have arrested altogether and are now detaining as State prisoners 98 men since September last year when we first took action. How can I satisfy you that these men are the organizers of the movement, that they are responsible for the arms that have been imported, the bombs that have been manufactured, the crimes that have been committed, the threats that have been issued, the danger to life and liberty which has been created? "Produce your proofs," I am told, "and we will believe you." Gentlemen, there are some who would believe nothing we might produce. If we produced statements they would say they were lies, if we produced documents

they would say they were forged, if we produced confessions they would say they were extorted by torture. Argument is wasted on such persons and we are not going to endanger the lives of our agents in the vain attempt to satisfy those who do not want to be satisfied. But there are others who are not so prejudiced, who do not believe that we torture innocent men to make them incriminate themselves or others, who do not believe that we tell lies or forge documents, who are satisfied that if we have taken steps which are repugnant to all our political convictions, we must sincerely believe that we are justified by the direst necessity, but who nevertheless think that we may have made mistakes and that the information on which we rely may be either inaccurate or maliciously false. Those are the people whom I desire to satisfy if I can, and it is to them that I now address myself.

I would ask them to accept my assurance that where we are building up a chain of evidence against those who are engaged in a living conspiracy which is continuously in existence there is no possibility of false evidence remaining undiscovered. We do not act on the word of a single informer alone, but the evidence we rely on has been accumulated over many months, has been corroborated by different agents unknown to each other, and only that which will stand the test of time and can be checked by corroborative facts survives. If false evidence is introduced into the chain it is bound to be detected. This fact was brought out clearly in the report of the two High Court Judges who in 1918, examined

I now address myself to the second point. Are our measures likely to prove effective?

As I said at Malda two days ago, if the danger we are faced with arose from a widespread popular movement due to serious political or economic unrest, a different remedy would be required, but as it arises from a comparatively small number of men who have organized themselves for the purposes of intimidation and murder, the only effective remedy is to arrest and detain the leaders and organizers, to segregate and intern the followers, to obtain powers of search without warrant, to deprive those who are engaged in the conspiracy of the power of putting their intimidation into practice and to prevent the spread or the revival of their organization. These were the powers which were provided by the Defence of India Act and they proved completely effective in the past. Every other means was tried over a period of several years, and failed either to suppress or to prevent the growth of the movement. The experience of the past is not an opinion but a fact. It has been said that violence begets violence. That is true and it is those who have adopted violence as their creed and those only, who will suffer by it. No provocative step of any kind has been taken by the Government since I came to Bengal. With the ideals of Indian nationalism I have expressed complete sympathy on every occasion that I have spoken in public. There has been no interference on the part of my Government with the progress of constitutional development. I invited the leader of the *Swarajya* Party to become my Minister. I offered him the opportunity of doing constructive, instead of destructive,

work for his country. My conscience is clear, therefore, that I have done nothing and said nothing to provoke violence, and now that I am threatened with it, I shall not hesitate to suppress it. You may criticise us now on purely theoretical grounds, but you will live to thank us that by our action Bengal has been saved from the horrors of revolutionary crime of which she has had so tragic an experience in the past, that the cause of Indian nationalism in this province has been freed from the stain of blood and that the way has been cleared for ordered and rapid constitutional progress.

***His Excellency's Speech at the St. Andrew's
Day Dinner, on 28th November 1924.***

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,

This is the third occasion I have had of appreciating the hospitality of the Caledonian Society, the third cold weather season in Calcutta which I have seen inaugurated on St. Andrew's Day. That reminds me that I am now half-way through my term of office. I am no longer a trembling new boy in the public school of Bengal, and though not yet a hardened veteran, I have at least become seasoned to abuse. I no longer ask for your indulgence because I have learnt by experience that I can count upon it and in common with the other guests whom you have so graciously included in this toast I know that I am among friends.

As usual, your guests are drawn from all departments of public life in Calcutta. On their behalf I offer you our sincere thanks for the hospitality you have accorded to us and for the cordial way in which you have drunk our health.

Mr. Tassie has very kindly made a personal reference to some of us and there is one to whom my deep sense of personal obligation compels me also to refer. To most of us life is such an unromantic routine, and the daily round of our professional duties so devoid of excitement, that we are drawn to the field of sport for that additional zest which is caused by the element of uncertainty. But there is one of your guests to-night whose

duties are performed under very different circumstances, who for the last two years has even carried his life in his hands. In the name of the citizens of Calcutta I desire to express a tribute of admiration to our Commissioner of Police and to the brave Indian officers who share his risks and so loyally and efficiently support him.

Mr. Tegart, as Mr. Tassie has reminded us, is an Irishman—for all we know he may be a Sinn Feiner at heart. He is the last man, therefore, to be deficient in sympathy with the cause of Indian nationalism, and that any nationalist should mistake him for an enemy and seek his life on that account is only proof of how the strong wine of politics can inflame the passions and cloud the judgment of weak minds. Probably I have more reason than any one in this room to know the extent to which Mr. Tegart has been misjudged, the dangers which he runs, the cool courage with which he performs his duty, and I can never adequately express to him my gratitude and my admiration. I can only say that I feel it an honour to be in his company and to be able to number him among my friends.

Gentlemen, the claim of your Society to inaugurate the cold weather season at Calcutta appears to have been disputed this year by two other pretenders to the title, and I fear that one member of my Government, though he comes from Aberdeen and is a member of your Society, may be prepared to support their claim, for "there is a rumour" (as they say in this country) that he left Darjeeling rather hurriedly at the end of

October to attend one of the opening meets of Messrs. Firpo or Peliti's new enterprise. Nevertheless, though I am only a poor Englishman, I am prepared to maintain that the honour of opening the season in the social-political world of Calcutta is not likely ever to be wrested from this annual function so long as the British connection with India is maintained.

Mr. Tassie who has proposed this toast in such gracious terms, has sympathized with me on two grounds—the first is that I have to spend so much of my time in protecting Bengal from her politicians instead of getting on with constructive work. I am grateful for his sympathy, but I assure him that this experience does not either surprise me or distress me as much as he might imagine. I am not surprised, because the power to destroy is inherent in the power to create. Indian politicians are not yet satisfied that they have the power to create and so they are still busy testing their power to destroy. And I am not depressed, because I am convinced that when they become conscious of their freedom to construct they will cease to take pleasure in destruction.

In this connection, I would like to take you into my confidence and tell you the sad story of how I failed to become a watchmaker. When I was about eight years old, I formed a romantic friendship with the local watchmaker who came each week to wind up the clocks in our country house. I so impressed him with my interest in his profession that he decided to make me an apprentice. One week he brought me a watch, and, as the first

step in my training, he showed me how to take it to pieces. Every single part of its mechanism was detached and the separate pieces were left in my charge. He promised when he returned the following week to show me how to put them together again. Unfortunately during his absence my interest in the watch, which we had so effectively destroyed, vanished and gave place to a delighted interest in the fascinating little wheels of which it had been composed. Instead of keeping them carefully shut up in a drawer I played with them, I showed them to a friend who was staying with me, and together we made many things with them that were not watches. By the end of the week I had lost some and broken others and the poor watch was destroyed beyond repair. The clockmaker was deeply shocked at my carelessness and sorrowfully took away as much as remained of the mechanism. My apprenticeship abruptly ended and I lost both my watch and my friend. It is a sad story of the premature termination of a promising career, but it is not without its moral. You see, my *guru* on that occasion clearly acknowledged that I must learn to take to pieces before I could put together, and he gave me to understand that the watch would not be mine till I could do both. Well, the Members of our Legislative Council in Bengal acting on the same principle have taken the ministerial wheels out of the mechanism of the constitution. I only hope that they will be warned by my example and not lose them altogether in the interval, but put them back at the next opportunity.

The second ground of Mr. Tassie's sympathy was of course, that I have the misfortune not to be born a Scot. This misfortune I share with your English, Irish and Indian guests. In fact, this dinner of the Caledonian Society gives me a greater bond of sympathy with my Indian friends than any other event of the year. To-night we are all outsiders—we share a common inferiority—yet warmed by your kindness and cheered by your hospitable fare, we can contemplate without envy your superior qualities and rejoice that in spite of the misfortune of our birth we are admitted to your friendship.

In my case Mr. Tassie has charitably found one extenuating circumstance in my love of the hills. I hope, therefore, that I may be forgiven, and to show you that I have not killed all my Aides-de-Camp; I have brought one of them with me to-night. If you look at him you will see that he is not even worn to a shadow. But then he is a Scot, and perhaps, that is why he has survived.

Gentlemen, since last we met time has wrought many changes. The familiar and imposing figure of the Maharaja of Burdwan is no longer present. He is busy elsewhere considering, I suppose, what further taxation can be placed upon the jute industry. I greatly miss his wise counsels and genial humour. He has been succeeded by another Maharaja who is showing his capacity to fill the vacancy.

Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, alas, did not live long enough to accept your hospitality as a Member of my Executive Council. In him I have lost a real personal friend for whom I had a great

affection and one who had placed me under a deep sense of obligation. We were colleagues together at the India Office—he was in fact my first guide and instructor in Indian affairs. In spite of his age and infirmity he did not hesitate to accept new responsibilities when he had earned repose. He died in harness at the end of a long life spent in the service of his country. He was loved by many and honoured and respected by all who knew him.

Another familiar figure that is absent is that of General Cubitt. His breezy speeches have delighted us at these dinners for many years. Calcutta, I am sure, will give a cordial welcome to his successor.

General elections have taken place both in India and in England and have produced sensational results. Last year at this dinner I said that there was no need for alarm because the extremists had gained many seats in Bengal, so this year I would beg my Indian friends to believe that there is no need for alarm because a Conservative Government has been returned to power with an overwhelming majority in England. As I said in 1922, the conservatives are not likely to adopt the revolutionary policy of repealing the constitution which was given to India in 1919. As a Labour Government has had to show that it would not shrink from sanctioning the repression of crime which sought to intimidate them, so a Conservative Government will now have to show, with equal courage, that they will not allow the path of constitutional progress in India to be blocked by the impatient violence of a few extremists.

The Lee Commission has visited India and completed its report in record time. I hope that its

example will be followed by the Government and another record established in the promptness with which its recommendations are acted upon.

I should like to mention two local matters which are of vital interest to the commercial community. I said last year that it was my ambition to pass over the new Howrah Bridge before I left India. I fear that the prospects of realizing my ambition have not improved with the passage of another year. But although the Legislative Council has made no progress with this matter, the Government has not been idle. We have drafted a Bill which has been published and is now ready for discussion in the Council. I should like to make clear what are the respective responsibilities of the Executive and of the Legislature in this matter. It is for the Legislative Council to decide what financial provision should be made for the new bridge. It is for the Government to decide, with the help of expert advice, what is the best type of bridge that can be maintained with the sources of revenue sanctioned by the Legislative Council, and to see that it is completed before the life of the existing bridge comes to an end. We shall carry out our responsibility and we shall try and persuade the Legislative Council to make sufficient financial provision for the best type of bridge. That they should want the cheapest is not unnatural, but I think we shall be able to show, when the matter is debated, that the cantilever type which we recommend will be as economical in the long run as the floating type which has found favour in some quarters.

The other subject I wish to mention is the Grand Trunk Canal. This scheme is also now completely ready and the need for its commencement has become extremely urgent. I myself visited the existing steamer route through the Sundarbans in company with the Chief Engineer last July and the latter returned there with the Maharaja of Krishnagar, the Irrigation Member, a fortnight ago. The river channels on this route are rapidly deteriorating and I am advised that they cannot be kept open without heavy expense for many years longer. We hope, therefore, to proceed with our scheme for the replacement of this route by the Grand Trunk Canal without further delay, and I propose to summon a conference of members of all parties to discuss the matter early in January.

The most important event which has taken place during the year which I am reviewing occurred during the last month, and before I sit down I must say one word about the present political situation and the action which my Government have taken to suppress the terrorist movement in Bengal. When I spoke at this dinner last year I said that there was only one small cloud upon the political horizon. Like the cloud which was first reported to the prophet Elijah as rising out of the sea like a man's hand and then grew until the heaven became black with clouds and wind, so the cloud which I mentioned last year has spread until it has darkened the whole political heaven. Yet I can say with some confidence that the situation is less anxious than it was a year ago. The menace which was then apparent only

to the Government is now clearly seen by every one in Bengal, and whereas a year ago we were powerless to prevent its growth, we are now effectively armed against it. Though we should like to have struck earlier, it is just as well that our weapons were not used till the need for them became generally recognized. In the last few days I have spoken at some length about the nature of the danger with which we have been faced and the object of the action we have taken. I need not repeat those arguments to-night among those who are not likely to question the necessity for exceptional measures to suppress a terrorist conspiracy, but as my words will reach beyond this room, there are a few things which I should like to say about the policy we have adopted.

You remember the parable in the Bible of the husbandman among whose good crops an enemy sowed tares during the night. So it is with the fair garden of Bengal where among the healthy growing plants of constitutional progress enemies have sown under cover of darkness the rankest, most poisonous, most choking weed which is to be found in a political garden—namely, the weed of intimidation. Mr. C. R. Das has recently told us that he has noticed these weeds—in fact, he says, that he has seen more of them than we have, and his remedy is that we should give them more sun and water, and he assures us that they will then turn into healthy and harmless plants. That advice, perhaps, seemed to him in keeping with the instructions of the husbandman in the parable, but, as in affairs of State, we cannot wait for the day of judgment to solve our difficulties, we have

preferred to eradicate the weeds before they grew too rampant, and to restrain those who have planted them. Whereupon Mr. Das cries out "You have accepted my diagnosis, but refused my remedy and instead of destroying the weeds you are plucking up my *Swarajya* shoots which are the healthiest plants in the garden." Gentlemen, the reason why I do not accept Mr. Das' remedy is because he is not my gardener and has no responsibility for the consequences of his advice. If he had become my Minister when I gave him the opportunity, and if in that capacity he were now to say "I will be responsible for the lives of our police officers without the use of these powers," then I should be prepared to listen to him. As he refused to take responsibility, he cannot now make it a grievance that his advice is not accepted. It may suit Mr. Das' purpose to say that our action is directed against his party, but the complaint is deprived of all reality when he tells us in the same breath that instead of doing it any harm we have in fact given it a magnificent advertisement. If our object had been what he asserts we should have arrested not three *Swarajist* members of Council, but 40, and effectively removed the obstruction which, he thinks, is so embarrassing to us. Gentlemen, our policy is not directed against Mr. Das' party nor against any other political party working within the constitution for the establishment of a national system of Government in India, but against a terrorist organization which aims at the overthrow of the present Government by force or its coercion, by murder and intimidation. Members of that organization will not be allowed to screen

themselves behind any other political label or obtain immunity by claiming membership of a party which professes to repudiate their methods. The leaders of all political parties in India have a very grave responsibility for the present situation. If they had had the courage to remain true to their publicly-avowed principles of non-violence, if they had said without any qualification—"We have no place for the bomb and the revolver in the nationalist movement, we will not accept the help of those who use them. Whatever the ideals may be of those who use these weapons, they are so damaging to the credit of our cause that we will support any Government, however constituted, in suppressing them." If they had the courage to say that when this menace first made its appearance, there would have been no need now for the special powers we have been forced to use. But instead of doing that they have either condoned the means for the sake of the end or they have allowed themselves to be blackmailed into betraying their principles.

Mr. Das has claimed that freedom is his birthright. Certainly, but it is mine too—it is Mr. Tegart's—and the first birthright of any man is the right to live. Our determination to suppress intimidation is as much in the interest of Mr. Das himself as of any other political leader. The day may come when he himself may be in a responsible position, and opposed by an irreconcilable minority. What would become of his birthright if those who could not accept his policy were to be free to terminate his existence, and where could he turn to protection if Government were not strong enough to afford it. Gentlemen; the

man who yields to intimidation surrenders something more precious than his life.

I came to India in the hope that I might render some small service to the land of my birth. I did not know when I came that it would be my lot to give it the most precious gift which any country can possess, namely, freedom for its citizens living within the law to speak and act in conformity with their conscience. I did not know that during my term of office Bengal would be deprived of this freedom and that it would be my privilege to restore it. But such has been the task which has come to me unsought. I do not shrink from it. And if I accomplish nothing else, I shall be satisfied if when I leave Bengal I can say that I have been able to guarantee to every Government servant and to every law-abiding citizen of Bengal safety in the discharge of his duty and freedom from fear of violence in the pursuit of his lawful business.

***His Excellency's Address to the Reopients
of Sanads at the Durbar held in Calcutta,
on 2nd December 1924.***

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT CHANDI CHARAN
SMRITIBHUSAN,

You have attained eminence as a scholar and writer on Sanskrit and your numerous contributions to Sanskritic learning show great erudition. You are the author of numerous works, some of which are prescribed as text books in Government and private sanskrit colleges; for the last 36 years you have taught Sanskrit to numbers of students in a *tal*, which you established at your own expense; and for many years you have been an examiner for higher subjects in Smriti examinations. You have thus exercised very considerable influence on the maintenance and development of Sanskrit learning and richly earned the title which has been bestowed upon you.

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT ASUTOSH SHASTRI,

After a distinguished academic career, you entered Government service as a Professor of Sanskrit in 1895 and you retired last year as Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.

As teacher and examiner, you have helped to hand down the best traditions of Sanskrit learning to the younger generation and you have also contributed to the critical literature on the subject.

Your attainments have richly earned for you the title which has now been conferred upon you.

RAI UPENDRA NATH BRAHMACHARI BAHADUR,

Your research work in *Kala-Azar* has been of the utmost value not only to this province, but to India generally, and the treatment which you evolved through that work has deprived the disease of its terrors. You have rightly gained a world-wide reputation. I congratulate you on your achievements and this further recognition which His Majesty the King-Emperor has been pleased to give to your humane work.

KHAN BAHADURS AND RAI BAHADURS.

Once again I have the privilege of distributing the *sanads* and titles which have been conferred on you for services to the State, and I am glad to think that your work has been recognized and rewarded.

RAI MANMATHA NATH PAL BAHADUR,

You have always taken an active part in any movement for the improvement of your village and its neighbourhood, and you have shown special interest in the cause of agricultural education and medical relief, towards both of which you have contributed munificently.

KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI HAJI KHONDKAR
MUHAMMAD MOHSEN.

You, too, have shown that you appreciate your responsibilities as a zamindar by the interest you have taken in your village, as for example, by your contributions towards the establishment of a high school, a *muktab* and a guest-house for Muhammadans. You have also done good work as Honorary Magistrate and Member of the Local Board.

RAI DEBENDRA NATH BASU BAHADUR,

You have rendered 28 years of meritorious service to Government in the Bengal Provincial Service. Your work has been characterized throughout by extreme thoroughness and you rendered excellent service in the settlement of Government lands in the outskirts of Calcutta. Your official superiors have always spoken of your work in the highest terms.

RAI DURGA DAS CHAKRABARTI BAHADUR,

You retired from Government service in 1922 after rendering long and valuable service in the Judicial Department.

RAI SURESH CHANDRA SARKAR BAHADUR,

You have been a Commissioner of the Calcutta Corporation for ten years and have shown a deep and enlightened interest in municipal work. As a Medical Practitioner in Calcutta you have brought relief and comfort to the suffering poor.

RAI HARENDRA KUMAR RAY CHAUDHURI BAHADUR.

You have made generous and substantial contributions towards works of public utility in Dacca city and in your own village in Dacca district. You have shown yourself a good landlord and a loyal supporter of Government.

RAI SATISH CHANDRA CHAUDHURI BAHADUR.

Your village in Mymensingh has reason to be grateful to you for your liberality and public spirit. You have built and endowed a hospital there at

the cost of three lakhs and you have thus ensured for the locality the provision of good medical treatment for future generations.

RAI SURENDRA NATH BANARJI BAHADUR,

You have had a very wide experience in the Police and you bear a most excellent record. Your service has been throughout of an exceptionally high order and your superior officers have gratefully acknowledged their indebtedness to your industry, tact and grasp of detail. This title is but a fitting recognition of your loyalty, character and straightforwardness.

RAI ROMONI MOHAN BANARJI BAHADUR,

In the 14 years during which you have been conducting cases on behalf of the Crown, you have been associated with some of the longest and most important cases before the Sessions Court at Alipore. and you have always identified yourself heartily with the interests of the Crown even at your own personal risk. Government have found your wide experience, great ability and extraordinary industry of the utmost value.

RAI MANINDRA NATH BANARJI BAHADUR,

Throughout your 33 years of most creditable service in the Postal Department your work has met with the highest commendation from successive Directors-General. Your all-round knowledge of post-office work, and your devotion to duty have made you a very valuable asset to the department in which you have done very fine work.

KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI KAZI GOLAM MOHIUDDIN FAROQUI,

True to the traditions of your historic family you have always taken an active interest in public affairs in your district of Tippera, where you have constantly supported educational and charitable institutions. Nor have you confined your interests to matters of local importance, but you have shown the same spirit towards your responsibilities as a Member of the Legislative Council. You have always used your influence on the side of law and order and consistently acted in what you believe to be the best interests of your country.

RAI RAMJIDAS BAJORIA BAHADUR,

Yourself a leading member of the Marwari Association and President of the Marwari School Committee you have always taken the lead in matters pertaining to the good of your community. You contributed ten thousand rupees towards the Marwari School, you founded a rest-house at Sahibganj, and you established a charitable institution at Hardwar. You were one of the organizers of the Calcutta Marwari Hospital, towards the establishment of which you yourself made a donation of two lakhs and raised a further sum of one lakh and eighty thousand from members of your community. You were for 18 years an Honorary Magistrate of Howrah.

RAI HARENDRA NATH DAS BAHADUR.

By your untiring devotion and public spirit you materially helped to raise the Carmichael Medical College, Belgachia, to its present eminence. The

outdoor dispensary of this institution was built, and maintained by funds obtained solely through your influence. You also secured endowments towards the college itself and towards the Eye Hospital at the Calcutta Medical College. You may justly be proud of your achievements.

RAI SURENDRA NARAYAN SINHA BAHADUR,

You have shown your public spirit as Honorary Magistrate, Chairman of the Azimganj Municipality and Secretary of the Co-operative Bank, and your influence and leadership have been of great value.

The liberal donations which you have made towards the cause of education indicate that you are a generous and progressive zamindar.

KHAN BAHADURS AND RAI BAHADURS,

I congratulate you on the titles which you have won, and I trust that you will long be spared to enjoy them and to give your fellow-countrymen the benefit of your experience and help.

KHAN SAHIB AND RAI SAHIBS,

I am glad of the opportunity this occasion gives me of paying a tribute to the work you have done for the public good in your various spheres of activity.

RAI SAHIB KUNJA BIHARI BASU,

You retired from the Education Department over 40 years ago and since then you have rendered good and efficient service as Honorary Magistrate. You have been a Member of the Education Committee of your District Board and have filled

various other honorary offices. Increasing years have not diminished your enthusiasm or your efficiency.

KHAN SAHIB MAULVI HAFIZ NAZIR AHMAD,

You have shown yourself a good oriental scholar and have done research work for the Asiatic Society; but you have not confined your attention to learning. For you proved yourself a force in combating the non-co-operation movement.

RAI SAHIB RADHA GOVINDA KUNDU,

Your service has been a record of long and meritorious work. Your experience and ability have always been of the greatest assistance, and conspicuously so in 1922, when you skilfully suppressed a serious outbreak of dacoity in the Patuakhali Subdivision.

RAI SAHIB DIBAKAR DE,

You have a long record of professional service in the Veterinary Department in which you have shown great proficiency; and for the last ten years you have carried out your duties as Assistant Principal of the Bengal Veterinary College with industry and merit.

RAI SAHIB PROBODH CHANDRA CHATARJI,

After a long and good record in the Registration Department, you retired a year ago from the appointment of Registrar of Assurances in Calcutta, a position in which you acquitted yourself with marked credit.

RAI SAHIB JNANENDRA NATH GHOSH,

You have worked with credit and distinction, both as Sub-Inspector and Inspector in every branch of police duties and have invariably shown yourself an officer of great ability and unimpeachable integrity. Your skill in detective work has been of special value.

RAI SAHIB UPENDRA NATH KANJILAL,

Since you joined the Eastern Bengal Railway 36 years ago, you have worked with energy and loyalty. You have shown yourself full of resource and prepared for every emergency—as for instance, when during a serious outbreak of Cholera at Kanchrapara you arranged for medical attendance and the removal of the dead, or when you rose from a sick bed to quell a disturbance amongst the staff and thus averted a strike.

RAI SAHIB MONINDRA NATH BHATTACHARJI,

Joining the Eastern Bengal Railway 34 years ago, you served for 23 years in the Cash Office passing through the various grades until you became Assistant Pay Master. Since 1913, you have been Treasurer on the East Indian Railway, a most responsible position, the duties of which you have carried out with marked efficiency.

RAI SAHIB BENI MADHAB MITRA,

Your 21 years' superior service in the Postal Department has been a continuous record of hard and honest work, and you have given every satisfaction both to your superior officers and to the public.

RAI SAHIB NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BASU,

During the last six and-a-half years of your service you have been closely associated with the organization and direction of the co-operative movement in Bengal, both as Personal Assistant to the Registrar and as Assistant Registrar. Your work in these capacities has been pre-eminently good and you have succeeded in winning and retaining the confidence of all classes with whom you came in contact.

RAI SAHIB MAHENDRA NATH MUKHARJI,

You joined the Police 32 years ago and rose to be Assistant Commissioner in the Calcutta Police in 1920. In the following year you were awarded the King's Police Medal. You possess detective ability of a high order and you have won the respect and esteem of the public.

RAI SAHIB RAJENDRA NATH BHATTACHARJI.

Besides doing good work as Superintendent of the Ripon College and School, you have long shown your interest in local municipal administration and in the improvement of public health and education.

RAI SAHIB KHETRA MOHAN GANGULI,

You have won a reputation for sound work and good judgment, and while you were on the staff of the Provincial Police Training College, you made a most successful instructor. In other directions also you have been of considerable value to the department in the course of your long and faithful service.

RAI SAHIB JNANENDRA CHANDRA GUHA,

Your work, too, as Personal Assistant to the Inspector-General of Prisons, has been consistently characterized by a high standard of excellence under most trying and difficult circumstances.

RAI SAHIB HARIDAS BANARJI,

This title is a mark of appreciation of the long and faithful service, which you have given to Government; as Head Assistant in his office, you have been of great value to the Director of Agriculture in recent years, and your meritorious work has been highly commended.

KHAN SAHIB AND RAI SAHIBS,

I congratulate you on the titles which you have received and I trust you will long be spared to enjoy them.

Mr. John Robson,

Since its formation in 1906, the Bengal Smoke Nuisances Committee has been conspicuously successful in reducing the smoke nuisances. You have been engaged from the beginning as Chief Inspector and Technical Adviser to the Committee, and its success has been due in very great measure to your tact, experience and unremitting exertions. I congratulate you on the medal which His Excellency the Viceroy has been pleased to grant you in recognition of your work.

***His Excellency's Speech at the Durbar
held at Calcutta, on 2nd December
1924.***

GENTLEMEN,

It is not my usual practice to make a speech at these Durbars. I have never done it before. But you will agree with me I think that if the Governor of the province has a message which he wishes to convey to the public, he cannot do better than to speak it in open Durbar. Of all the opportunities available to me of speaking in public this is the most appropriate for the particular subject which it is in my mind to speak about. Here I am addressing no local audience or particular section of the public, but representatives of all classes, all interests, all communities in the province and the subject I have to speak about is nothing less than the welfare of Bengal as a whole.

I have recently made three speeches dealing with the terrorist conspiracy in Bengal and with the action which my Government has taken to suppress it. In those speeches I dealt in detail with different aspects of the question. I placed before the public most of the facts relevant to its consideration and most of the arguments in justification of our action. At Malda, I explained the nature of the menace with which we were threatened. I produced evidence of the existence of a terrorist movement; I showed how it had grown in the last 18 months; I enumerated its

characteristics and explained how destructive they were of all political liberty; finally, I expressed the determination of my Government to exterminate it by the only means which were effective for the purpose.

At Dinajpur, two days later, I dealt at length with the question whether or not we had discovered and arrested the real authors and members of this conspiracy, and whether the powers under the new Ordinance, which we had asked for and obtained, and which it is our intention at the earliest possible moment to replace by a local Statute, were or were not the best remedy for the trouble. I explained how we had the experience of the past to guide us in these two matters; how the measures we were now taking had been the only effective ones in the past and how, whereas, largely owing to the delay in using them, Government had then had to arrest and intern as many as 1,200 persons, the fact that they had taken the right men was not now seriously disputed by any one.

At the St. Andrew's Day Dinner in Calcutta last Friday, I dealt with Mr. C. R. Das' complaint that I had accepted his diagnosis and refused his remedy: I denied the allegation that our action was directed against any political party and I pointed out the responsibility attaching to the leaders of all political parties who, though paying lip service to non-violence, had never repudiated the help of those who used the bomb and the revolver, but had accepted them in the expressive phrase recently used by one newspaper as the "Sappers and Miners of the Constitutional Army."

In these three speeches I thus dealt with particular features of the question. To-day I propose to deal finally with the question as a whole and to refer to some of the comments which have been made on my previous speeches.

The first question; then, is—does a terrorist conspiracy exist? What has been the comment on this point? It is that I have wasted my breath in trying to prove what needs no proof and is no longer disputed. Well, that is something gained: I shall waste no more breath on this subject. But before I leave it I must point out that when I first told the public of the existence of this terrorist movement and warned them that we were threatened with a revival of the horrors which they had experienced from 1912 to 1918, I was not believed. I was told that this was a false alarm raised by the police to justify their existence; I was told that the crimes which had been committed had no political significance, but had been committed for private gain by members of the *bhadralog* class driven to desperation by unemployment and economic distress. It has not taken long for the public to learn and to admit that I was right and my only regret is that it has needed the lives of some innocent men and some guilty ones to establish the truth of what I pointed out a year ago.

The next question is—now that it is admitted that this terrorist movement exists, how is it to be suppressed? My critics tell me that the right remedy for political crime is to pursue it by means of the ordinary law, and the only effective preventive of it is to concede the demands of those who resort to it. Unfortunately for their case

experience is against them. I need not refer to the experience of other countries which may not be familiar to them, except to say that in no civilized country and under no form of Government, whether autocratic, bureaucratic or democratic, has their remedy for this particular evil ever been found effective. I will only remind you of the experience of Bengal, an experience which is within the memory of everyone whom I am addressing. In the early years of the last revolutionary movement, the ordinary law was used as often as possible, but it proved wholly inadequate. Apart from the murder of investigating officers, of witnesses and of approvers the published testimony of the revolutionaries themselves show that for the purpose of preventing the growth of the movement and the spread of intimidation it was absolutely useless. It was not until the Defence of India Act gave to the Government the same powers which we have obtained under the recent Ordinance that the movement of that day was suppressed. We ourselves have had recourse to the ordinary law in the last two years and we have found it equally ineffective. If men can be murdered even on mere suspicion of having made confessions or supplied information, what hope is there that others will dare to face publicity? No court, which cannot guarantee immunity to the witnesses that testify before it, can be expected to arrive at the truth in political cases. Those who urge us to have recourse to the ordinary Courts of Justice have no power to guarantee the safety of the witnesses we might produce. The Courts of Justice themselves have no such power and have no responsibility for

any harm that may come to those who testify before them. That responsibility rests with the Executive Government alone and as head of the Executive in Bengal, I say finally and definitely that we will not produce our witnesses before any tribunal unless we can guarantee their safety if they speak the truth. A suggestion has been made in some quarters that we should submit our evidence in secret to one or two impartial men whose verdict would carry greater weight than our own.

This is a very plausible suggestion and one which I cannot lightly reject. But there is one very obvious objection to the form in which it is made. The responsibility for executive action must rest with the Executive Government—it cannot be devolved upon any one else. Even the Legislature has no responsibility for the selection of the individuals who have been arrested. Therefore, I say the Government of Bengal could never divest themselves of the responsibility which is theirs and theirs alone for the selection they have made. But I may be told that the Government often seeks the advice of unofficial committees and commissions in a variety of public matters. I agree, but that is always when Government themselves have some doubt as to the course they should adopt or desire more information before acting. If the Executive cannot be trusted to carry out its responsibility—there is only one remedy, namely, to change it. Since in India, however, the Executive Government is irremovable, it is not unreasonable to suggest that it should at least seek the advice of those who possess a larger measure of

public confidence than they do themselves. But here a practical difficulty at once arises. Who is to decide the personnel of these assessors? The Government naturally should select its own advisers, but if they are not trusted neither will be the men of their choice. Government, however, cannot be expected to seek the advice of their political opponents, and none but their own nominees would satisfy such opponents. The belief that there are men in India or in any country in the world who, in a matter of acute political controversy, are free from any political bias whose impartiality is unquestioned by any one and whose verdict would be accepted by all is unfortunately the dream of a visionary and entirely at variance with the realities of life.

Now let me deal with the second argument that the only way to prevent the use of the bomb and the revolver is to concede the demands of those who use them. I admit, and I have already acknowledged in public, that the business of statesmen is not merely to enforce the law and to punish those who break it, but also to investigate the causes which drive normally law-abiding persons to break the law. I do not shirk my responsibility in this matter and I do not claim that my duty ceases with the suppression of crime and intimidation. If it could be said with truth that nationalist aspirations in India were discouraged and checked, that all progress in the development of the constitution was blocked, that all channels of constitutional agitation were closed, that all reasonable demands were refused, that no redress of grievances was possible, that after years of patient

and peaceful effort the people in their desperation had at last been driven to violent courses by an utterly unsympathetic and tyrannical Government. that would not justify the crimes, but it would at least cause the Government to forfeit the sympathy and support which they are otherwise entitled to expect from law-abiding citizens. The use of such an argument in Bengal to-day is absolutely impossible. It would be historically untrue and in flat contradiction of the known features of the present political situation. The ideals and aspirations of Indian nationalists far from being discouraged have been accepted by the Government as their own; progress in constitutional reform instead of being blocked has in recent years been so great that many Indians have doubted whether it did not go too far at one step; avenues of constitutional agitation instead of being closed have been greatly widened and extended; not only reasonable demands, but some that were thought unreasonable by many Indians in 1919 have been granted not even with any finality, but as instalments to the further consideration of those that still remain unsatisfied: opportunities for the remedy of political and economic grievances never before available have been created. Never in the history of any country was there less justification for political crime than there is in Bengal to-day. That is why I said at Malda that the present terrorist conspiracy was not a popular movement.

It has been suggested that when I went on to say there that threats of violence had been used even against candidates to, and members of, the Legislative Council, I was referring only to

Red Bengal leaflets the existence of which was first said to be an invention of the police and which opponents of the Government have found it convenient to ignore or to laugh at. No gentlemen, it was not to these leaflets that I was referring, but to letters addressed to the recipients threatening them with assassination if they did not withdraw their candidature or vote as they were bidden. And as might be expected, so rapidly does this foul poison of intimidation spread when once it has been proved effective, it has even found its way into the municipal affairs of the mufassal which have not the remotest connection with the presence of British officials in India or the form of the Constitution.

The suggestion, therefore, which has been made that the evil is due to the bitterness of heart of a patient people long denied the smallest encouragement in their struggle for freedom, and that it would disappear if Government would show more sympathy is wholly false and palpably disproved by facts which are known to everyone. Many of the genuine revolutionaries of the old days have admitted that the declaration of 1917 and the Act of 1919 entirely removed the grounds of their former methods of agitation, and that if the present opportunities for constitutional agitation had then existed, they would never have resorted to violence. The only points on which opinion is now divided—and I admit, of course, sharply and even bitterly divided—are not the ultimate goal but the rate of advance and the stages by which the goal may be reached. The use of the bomb and the revolver, therefore, by those

who are dissatisfied either with the rate of progress or the value of the present stage in the reform of the Constitution, is nothing less than political blackmail, and any Government which tolerated it would forfeit its right to exist. It is a universal experience in public and in private affairs that surrender to blackmail does not cause it to cease but perpetuates it.

I need say no more on this subject and my last words are not to the small group of terrorists on whom argument is wasted, but to the large body of men who are as much opposed as I am both to a policy of repression and to the violence and intimidation which make it necessary. I beg all such not to be discouraged, and not to fear that we shall lose our faith in the ultimate achievement of responsible self-government in India or weary in our efforts to bring it about by all the means in our power. The present crisis must necessarily render our task more difficult, because of the bitterness which it has inevitably engendered. The first step towards reconciliation and advance must be to bring about conditions which will make it safe to release those whom we have been obliged to arrest, and I should like to make clear what those conditions are.

The first is to make sure that those who organize and direct this terrorist movement have been restrained from employing their methods of intimidation. The second is to deprive them of the weapons on which they rely to make those methods effective. It has been stated in many quarters that the fact that we have made no large captures of arms or explosives is proof of their

non-existence. This is a plausible argument, but again it is disproved by facts. The existence of these arms and explosives is proved by the fact of their use. All the outrages that have taken place have been committed with automatic pistols of foreign manufacture that could not be legally obtained in India and must, therefore, have been smuggled into the country from abroad, or with bombs of a new type that have recently been manufactured. If the searches which took place on October 25th did not lead to the discovery of secret stores of these weapons, that is because the police on that occasion were mainly occupied with the capture of the members of the conspiracy. Isolated weapons they might possibly have found, but it was not likely after the prominence which had lately been given to the seriousness of the movement and the necessity for some action to suppress it, that any stock of weapons or incriminating material would be kept in premises liable at any moment to be raided by Government. But although the first step was to secure the men, the capture of their weapons is, as I have said, a necessary preliminary to the consideration of their release. The third and last indispensable condition is the passage of the Bill which we shall introduce into the Legislative Council to take the place of the Ordinance. When that Bill has become law and we have an effective means of preventing the revival of violent methods, we can then begin the process of reviewing the cases of those whom we have arrested with a view to restoring to them their liberty. Those who wish for the early release of the State

prisoners should, therefore, help us to satisfy these three conditions at the earliest possible moment.

Gentlemen, I said a year ago, and I must again repeat to-day, that the measures we have taken cannot be successful unless we have public opinion behind us. If the public opinion of Bengal really approves of this campaign of intimidation the existence of which is no longer denied; if they want to return to the horrors of the years 1912 to 1918; if they are content to let their young men be drawn into this movement and allow their passions to be inflamed and their minds poisoned with revolutionary and anarchical doctrines until they wake up one morning to find, perhaps, one of their own sons in the dock for the murder either of some public official or of some innocent victim whom he has mistaken for one—if that is the general public feeling in Bengal, then we shall fail. But if, as I believe, you all want to see this movement suppressed, if you are determined that the horrors of the past shall not be repeated, even though you may doubt our ability to achieve this object and have not complete confidence in our selection of the men involved, then we shall succeed and as soon as this evil has become a thing of the past we shall be able to proceed with our interrupted progress along the path we have agreed to follow.

For the use we may make of the special powers we have asked for to deal with a special menace to the welfare of the State we are and must be alone responsible, but whether or not we are to have any special powers is a matter in which the Legislature must have a share of responsibility. The Bill

which we shall submit at an early date to the Legislative Council will impose upon its members a very severe trial and test to the utmost their capacity to put the supreme interests of the State above all other considerations. I am confident that they will face it, with a due sense of responsibility.

Gentlemen, my last words to you, and through you to the people of Bengal are these :—Those who conscientiously believe that we have taken the wrong course and that the growth of political blackmail can best be checked by concessions to its demands cannot, of course, support us and I respect their opposition. My appeal is not to them but to those who know in their hearts that we are right, who believe that the suppression of intimidation is a necessary preliminary to a free discussion of constitutional progress and that toleration of all opinions lawfully expressed is an indispensable condition of political freedom. On their support we have a right to count. If they, though agreeing with us, have not the courage to stand by our side, they will weaken the claim of their countrymen to be entrusted with further responsibility. It is a supreme opportunity, and I am confident that in this hour of political trial Bengal will emerge triumphant.

His Excellency's Speech at the Prize distribution of the St. Xavier's College, on 8th December 1924.

FATHER RECTOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I was very sorry that I could not attend your prize-giving last year, and I am glad that you have renewed your invitation this year and given me an opportunity of at last making the acquaintance of your college.

I have already learnt a great deal about the splendid work of the Jesuits of the Belgian Mission in the cause of education and have often visited their great school of St. Joseph's at Darjeeling. I, therefore, expect great things of St. Xavier's and I have not been disappointed.

From the report of the Rector and from all I have learnt from my own educational advisers it has been made clear to me that this institution has the highest traditions and that the present generation of students is worthily maintaining them.

It is of special interest to me to learn that my father presided at a similar ceremony 47 years ago and that his words on that occasion are still remembered. I should, indeed, be proud if I could think that my visit to you to-day would also be remembered 50 years hence.

The interesting report to which we have just listened mentions the loss sustained by the death of

Father Francotte, Father Lowyck and Brother Henry Sabaa. Their loss is felt outside as well as inside these walls. Father Francotte's meteorological notes were read with interest by the public, and his name was a household word in Bengal. In him all Bengal and not only St. Xavier's has sustained the loss of a real devotee of science. Father Lowyck was renowned as a great parish priest, a friend of the Entally poor, and a lover of music, to whom the College Band owed much. Brother Henry Sabaa's death was felt by many generations of St. Xavier boys as a personal loss. It is a consolation to know that the work of these devoted men lives after them, and that St. Xavier's will not easily forget them.

I am glad that we were able to increase our grant-in-aid to the college by Rs. 600 a month last year. This was, of course, a grant to Indian education, since the College Section of the institution is mainly taken advantage of by Indians. The grant has been fully justified by the use made of it, for I understand that the authorities have taken the opportunity thus afforded them of increasing the pay of the Indian staff and establishing a provident fund for them; I trust that this has gone at least some way to render their prospects reasonable. I feel sure that the improvement will result in increased contentment, and thereby in increased efficiency though at the same time I am aware that you desire further help in order to make still further progress in the same direction. On the enthusiasm and happiness of the staff must very largely depend the success of such an institution as yours. I know that enthusiasm is not

lacking; for, apart from the Indian members for whose interests the authorities of the college have recently, with the help of Government, been able to do much, and who, I am sure, are devoted to the interests of the institution, I must not forget that there is a European staff of considerable size, men who have made education their life work—a labour of love. Here you have 14 reverend fathers placing their culture, their moral earnestness, their love for God and man, their passion for the good of humanity at the service of 1,474 young men who are being trained in the school or college for the duties of life, a very definite majority of them Indians, strangers to themselves in blood and religion. Surely this fact should give us food for reflection. The labourer is worthy of his hire, but these men, devoted like so many previous generations of your order, since the days of your revered founder to the service of humanity and of India give Bengal annually a free gift of services incalculable in value, and not to be measured in money. Receiving little but bare sustenance and clothes, working not for salaries but for their order and all that it implies, they make a valuable contribution to Bengal's educational resources, which, it is to be hoped, Bengal values. And I feel sure Bengal does value it. The provision made in the budget for European schools is sometimes criticized as being over-generous, but when it is borne in mind, how much money, how many valuable lives have been and are still being placed at the disposal of Indian education by missionary educational effort, we, perhaps, discover the reason why, with one exception, a Council, predominantly Indian

in character, has voted all the grants required for the education of European and Anglo-Indians.

St. Xavier's carries on a long tradition of devoted educational service to India on the part of the missionary bodies. I need not repeat to-day all that the Calcutta University Commission wrote about missionary colleges in general and St. Xavier's in particular. One of the finest tributes which the Commission paid to the missionary teachers was when they said after comparing them with the old Hindu *guru*: "The value of the contribution made by the missionary teachers to the life of the University, can scarcely be overestimated." This tribute is as true to-day as it was then. One criticism which the Commission then made is now being partly met. They said that few boys go from the school to the University or College Department because the school does not prepare for the Matriculation, a feature which mainly affected boys of the European and domiciled communities who predominate in the school. But this year, I understand, that twenty or so of the candidates who passed the Cambridge Local Examinations were admitted into the college—a proof that there is no obstacle on the part of the University to the admission of Cambridge Local students, and that there is nothing to prevent an able Anglo-Indian youth from entering the University.

This is a satisfactory feature, for if they are to hold their own in the battle of life, if they wish to take an active part in the conduct of public life, the members of the Anglo-Indian community

must make more use than they do now of University education. We see that the Cambridge examinations can be made to lead to the University and are no bar to admission to higher studies in Bengal. I say this without prejudice to the other view, which, I am told, some of the members of the community hold, and which one school has put into practice already, that the community should abandon the Cambridge Examination and adopt those of the University from the Matriculation stage upwards. I do not judge between these competing views, but merely express my pleasure at learning that some Anglo-Indian boys are, through the medium of your institution, proceeding to those higher studies which are essential to the community's future well being in the more strenuous conditions of to-day.

The report of the Rector also gives a very satisfactory account of the current activities of the school and college and shows, if I may say so, that at St. Xavier's the various aspects of school and college life are regarded in their true perspective. Boys go to school and thence to college to obtain the requisite education and training, for mind, character and body—intellectual, moral and physical—but many schools in India are too apt to lose sight of the second and third aspects.

I should like to conclude by addressing a few words to the students on these three aspects of their school and college life:—

- (1) As regards the training of the mind—the purely intellectual side of your life here. the point I would like to emphasize is

that your aim when you come here should not be the passing of examinations alone, not the acquisition of certificates and degrees, but the development of your brains. A college should aim at turning out not graduates merely, but men capable of independent thought—or rather their teaching and their examinations should be so devised as to ensure that those who obtain their degrees can be guaranteed capable of thinking for themselves and not only of repeating the thoughts of others. This ideal is far from being realized in India as yet and that is due to defects in the system of examination. Though it may not be possible for the teaching staff of an institution like this to change the methods of examination, they can do much to improve the methods of teaching, and I would beg them to impress upon all their students that the function of the college is not to get them through this or that examination, but to train them for life. From all I can learn your work in the class-rooms appears to be of a high order and reflects great credit on the teaching staff. I hope that the remarkable successes in examinations, which the Rector has been able to report, shows that the students of St. Xavier's have been taught to think for themselves and have acquired knowledge in such a way as to develop their own power of reason and judgment.

(2) As regards the physical aspect there is really nothing to be said except to congratulate you on the opportunities which St. Xavier's provides for healthy outdoor games and on the admirable use you have made of them.

(3) These games, however, play a very important part in the third aspect of your college life about which I want to speak—namely, the building up of character. This college and school have a reputation of continuous success in the playing fields. I am particularly glad to learn, however, that success and victory have not been the main object in your games, but that the development of a sporting spirit has been your chief ideal. You have learnt here what you will find equally true in after-life that a game well played, whatever be the result, need never be regarded as lost. The Rector has mentioned two features of a sound moral training in which games play a great part. One is the recognition of community obligation and community discipline,—to play for one's side and not for oneself. If you can learn this lesson thoroughly while you are here, you will be the better able hereafter to serve the interests of the wider communities of which you will become members. The other lesson which the Rector claims you are taught on the playing field is to accept without question the decision of the Umpire. Let me suggest to you how

you can test yourselves in this lesson. The supreme test of a true sporting spirit and of a strong moral character is if you can be given "out" wrongly and yet accept the decision without protest and without complaint. It is easy enough to walk back to the pavilion without a murmur when you know that your leg was before the wicket or that you had touched the ball that was caught by the wicket-keeper, though even that standard of sportsmanship is not always acquired. But to accept the verdict of "out" equally philosophically when you know that it was not deserved is a harder test—yet that is the tradition of the game which all who play cricket have to learn.

Again in the affairs of life it is easy to speak the truth when you will derive advantage from so doing, but to acquire the reputation for speaking the truth fearlessly when the consequences will be injurious to you is an achievement at which I hope you will aim. Nothing else which you can learn here will give you so great an influence over your fellowmen or earn for you more surely their respect. If St. Xavier's can give you these qualities, it will have given you something more precious than a knowledge of letters or science, and by showing such qualities throughout your life you will bring more honour to your school than by winning any scholarship. Scholarship may not be within the reach of you all, but the formation of a character worthy of an old Xaverian need be missed by none.

I will say no more. I congratulate you on the successes that you have attained and on maintaining the high reputation of this college and school. I wish you God-speed in your work in all its branches and I trust that here in your institution, Indian and European may in the future work together in that harmony and co-operation which has characterized your work in the past and which is so urgent and pressing a need, not only in the small world of the college and school, but in the political and social world outside your walls.

***His Excellency's Speech at the laying of
the Foundation-stone of the Islamia
College, on 9th December 1924.***

SIR ABDUR RAHIM AND GENTLEMEN—

To-day we celebrate the beginning of the realization in concrete form of a desire which has occupied the minds of the Moslem community of Bengal for well nigh half a century. It is 43 years since the idea of establishing a special college for Moslems was first mooted. In partial compliance with the wishes of the community intermediate classes were attached to the Calcutta Madrassa in 1883; those classes existed for 26 years, and were only abolished at the time of the reorganization of the University of Calcutta. How keenly the Moslems felt that blow, which followed upon the recommendations of the University Commission of 1902 and the new Regulations which ensued, was made clear in the meeting held at the Town Hall in February 1909, presided over by the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, which considered the situation created by the new Regulations. At that meeting many wise words were spoken or read out, among which I would specially select the letter written to the meeting by the Nawab Imadul Mulk Syed Husain Bilgrami, Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India—

“It seems to me that the way to get the Madrassa recognized by the University is to work it up to the standard. I hope you are not going to ask for it as a favour.”

I would recall those words of 15 years ago as pertinent to-day. The college, of which it is my pleasant duty to lay the foundation-stone to-day, will be one which will face the world on its own merits, will meet all University standards, and will rise to those higher standards which, we all hope, will be prescribed in due course as a result of the wise counsel given us by Sir Michael Sadler and his colleagues. So at least I hope and believe and such I know is the intention and desire of all Moslems who aspire to a position in the Bengal of to-morrow where they will not need to ask for special consideration on account of their backward condition, but will be able by virtue of their abilities, their training, and their influence to take the position in the public life of the province to which their numbers entitle them.

The meeting to which I have referred reiterated the desire of Moslems for a first-grade college, and recommended that the Calcutta Madrassa itself should be raised to the status of a college. This was a difficult demand. The Calcutta Madrassa is the home of Islamic studies of the traditional type upon which it is difficult to superimpose any scheme of higher studies which would meet University standards. It contains also a high school of the modern type, the Anglo-Persian Department, and the demand amounted to the suggestion to improve this section of the Madrassa into a college. This was difficult, because one of the cardinal features of University Reform in 1909 was the separation of school and college education. It was clearly seen that what was really needed was not so much the conversion of the Madrassa into

a college, as the creation of an entirely new institution which would meet the needs of the time, and that this was impossible, if the Madrassa alone was considered. This was the view adopted when the Government of Bengal took up the question, and in 1915 it took the wise step of acquiring the site upon which we are standing, and upon which nine years later we are about to build this Islamia College. The site cost Government well over a lakh of rupees, but it was money well invested.

The nine years' delay, which I with you all regret, was due to two causes. In the first place, the great war reduced the Government of Bengal, as it did all Governments, to great financial straits, and the project could not be immediately carried into effect. In the second place, the later years of this war period were in Bengal as in England years of great searching of heart in matters educational. Some people considered the construction of new colleges in the congested area of Calcutta a mistake and others actually advocated the removal of the whole University, lock, stock and barrel to the suburbs. If the University were to be removed, obviously it would have been a mistake to build in Wellesley Street. The Commissioners, however, came to the conclusion that in the modern world a city of the magnitude of Calcutta must have a University within its borders as part of its civic endowment. There were others who thought that communal institutions might be condemned by the Commission, and this would have been equally fatal to the scheme. Government, therefore, felt bound to wait, while the Commission performed those tours and pursued those investigations, lasting

over two years, which resulted in its epoch-making report. Here again Moslem fears were found to be groundless. The Commission wrote these words which all Moslem doubtless value as the "Magna Charta" of their scheme: "We desire to emphasize the importance, under the conditions now existing in Calcutta, of the establishment of an Islamia College for Muslim students, where opportunities for religious observance and instruction might be made available. The question has been specially referred to us. . . . We have no hesitation in saying that we regard the establishment of such a college as a real and important need. . . . We recognize with the greatest respect that one of the reasons which have hitherto prevented Musalmans from taking full advantage of the opportunities of University training has been their belief that religious influence is an indispensable element in any sound system of education. Such a college, as we have suggested, would meet this difficulty."

The long delay which took place was, therefore, both for administrative and for financial reasons imperative. That this weary period of waiting has at last been brought to an end is due to the energy of my late Minister Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq who, though his ministry was short and marked by disappointments, can legitimately pride himself on this great and solid achievement of his brief period of control. Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq has generously testified elsewhere to the loyal support which he received from his subordinate officials, secretarial and departmental, and I think, if proof were needed, the quick revival and speedy elaboration

of this project into a concrete scheme adapted to present-day conditions shows that the officials concerned threw themselves with a will into the work.

I am particularly glad that it has fallen to my lot to take part in the practical initiation of this scheme for this is the third occasion in my life on which I have been able to raise my voice in favour of the admission to the benefits of a University training of those who have been previously excluded from it by reason of their religious convictions. Though I am one of those who believe that a University education is by its very nature opposed to sectarian influences and that its benefits can only be felt not by the segregation of its students, but by the complete intermixing of men of all faiths, yet very early in life I came to see the mistake of pressing this doctrine to the length of excluding from a University altogether those whose convictions required some religious atmosphere of their own faith to surround them. One of the first debates in which I took part at the Cambridge Union was on a motion, which I defended, to grant recognition within the University to a Roman Catholic hostel for the training of young men destined for the priesthood. The second occasion came a few years later when I supported Mr. George Wyndham, whose Private Secretary I then was, in his efforts to establish a Roman Catholic University in Ireland—a country which was predominantly Catholic and for whose young men the only University available was predominantly Protestant in its atmosphere. On

both, these occasions I was shocked by the intolerance of those who opposed such steps in the name of liberalism.

That I appreciate the proper function of a University is clear, I hope, from what I said at the last Convocation of Calcutta University when I invited the professors of the University to ask themselves carefully whether they had mingled their students sufficiently in their University life, or whether they had allowed them to meet for the first time in the examination hall. But the same grounds which led me both at Cambridge and in Ireland to desire the admission to the benefits of a University education of the Roman Catholics, who required some atmosphere of their own religious faith, compel me now to support a similar desire on the part of the Muhammadans of Bengal. The motive which inspires the Moslem demand for a special college of their own, is one which cannot fail to appeal to one brought up in the educational atmosphere of England, and which all men, whatever creed they may profess, cannot but respect. The Moslem community has suffered for decades through its neglect to take advantage of the new learning and system of education which came into India during the nineteenth century. Moslem dislike of the modern system of education has been ascribed to many causes by different observers, but all of them have united in pointing to the absence from the system of religious training as one of the most potent causes. In this Islamia College, that desire of the Moslem community will be met, and what Sir William Hunter described as a most powerful instinct of

the Musalman heart will receive permanent and abiding satisfaction. That feeling which possibly still lurks in rural parts of Moslem Bengal that English education is not the education of a gentleman, that through it even though a Moslem may gain the whole world, he may lose his own soul, will surely disappear for ever when he sees this building in its final splendour, and realizes that culture, though in modern form, can still be the handmaid of religion, and can co-operate with it here in Calcutta in producing in large numbers for the service of Bengal that type which has played its part on many stages in the past, and has yet, I believe, a great part to play,—the cultured Moslem gentleman.

I have another personal reason for welcoming this opportunity of encouraging the admission of Moslems in larger numbers to the benefits of a University education. On January 8th, 1877, my father laid the foundation-stone of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, the subsequent history of which has so amply justified the high hopes that were then entertained as to its future. The words which he then used seem to me so appropriate to the present occasion that I should like to make one quotation from them.

“I cannot doubt,” he said, “that the ceremony on behalf of which we are now assembled constitutes an epoch in the social progress of India under British rule which is no less creditable to the past, than pregnant with promise for the future. In this belief I rejoice that I have been able to take part in it.

“Your regretful acknowledgment of the peculiar difficulties which have hitherto beset the progress of modern education among the Muhammadan community in India, attests the sincerity and enhances the value of your welcome assurance that this important community is now resolved to rely mainly on its own efforts for the gradual removal of those difficulties.

“The well-known vigour of the Muhammadan character guarantees the ultimate success of your exertions, if they be fairly and firmly devoted to the attainment of this object. I need not remind you, gentlemen, of the old story of the man who prayed to Hercules to help his cart out of the rut. It was not till he put his own shoulder to the wheel that his prayer was granted.

“I congratulate you on the vigour with which you are putting your shoulders to the wheel. Only give to this institution the means of adequately satisfying the requirements of the modern system of education, and you will thereby have given it, also a just and recognized claim to such assistance as it may, from to time, be in the power of Government to extend to voluntary efforts on behalf of such education.”

As long ago as 1882, the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali wrote in the columns of the “*Nineteenth Century*” that unless effective measures of reform were adopted, the unsatisfactory condition of the

Moslems threatened to become a source of anxiety and danger to British administration in India. Since then it has been recognized that Moslem education is a problem of its own, and that the special educational needs of Moslems must be specially met. The University of Aligarh which rose on the foundation-stone laid by my father serves to remind us how completely Moslem sentiment in this respect has been met elsewhere. The Moslem Hall at Dacca is so far our main experiment in Bengal, and from the good reports I have of it, I am convinced that the experiment has justified itself. If this Islamia College does for Western Bengal what the Moslem Hall is doing for East Bengal, and gains a reputation as a producer of men who combine in themselves all those qualities of mind and soul and heart which to the Moslem view constitute a gentleman, the present experiment upon which we embark to-day will, I think, equally succeed. For I feel certain that Moslem opinion will judge the Islamia College on much the same principles as does a father when he is choosing a school in England. He does not ask primarily whether all its boys get first classes or scholarships. He asks "what is the tone of the school?" and "what reputation have its old boys in the world?" I hope and think that the Islamia College, while meeting all intellectual tests, will satisfy Moslem public opinion by the severer criterion I here suggest.

Many of you doubtless know from a sketch which appeared in the local press not long ago what aspect the completed building, so admirably

designed by Mr. Crouch, will present. I will mention here only a few details of the projected building. It will contain a magnificent assembly hall large enough to hold all the students; it is proposed that this hall should serve as a common room for the students. There will be two large laboratories with a lecture theatre and a library with space for fifty thousand volumes. How soon the fifty thousand volumes will be available will depend on the extent to which the generosity of the Moslem community is prepared to supplement the efforts of Government in this respect. In addition there will, of course, be the usual features of a well-planned college with the special additional feature of a prayer room which I trust one day Moslem piety will replace by a special college mosque. It is obvious from what I have said about laboratories that the college will make provision for science teaching as well as for arts. In this connection it is worth recalling the 1909 speech of the late Sir Syed Shamsul Huda, in which he demanded for the proposed Muhammadan College the provision of both science and arts courses. At the commencement science will be taught up to the I. Sc. standard only, students subsequently proceeding to the Presidency College for degree work. But it is not intended that after the opening of the Islamia College, Moslem students will be excluded from the Presidency College any more than the Hindu students are excluded from that college because of the existence of the Sanskrit College.

I must not conclude without alluding to the opinion of the Calcutta University Commission

that though it was desirable that the Islamia College should begin as a Government College, it should eventually become self-governing, being handed over to a body of Governors with a consolidated grant. One special recommendation I commend to your notice, and that was to the effect that the proposed Governing Body should be "empowered to accept gifts and endowments which would, we hope, be forthcoming on a substantial scale from well-to-do Musalmans." I feel certain that the recommendation that this college should eventually be an institution managed by a committee of leading Moslems, free from the direct control of Government, is a wise one, and though it is our intention to maintain it as long as may be necessary as a Government institution. I look forward to the time when the recommendation of the Commission can be put into effect. Both before and after that event, I trust that Moslem piety and enthusiasm will see to it that a constant stream of endowments increases the dignity and resources of the college, and supplements such deficiencies as the strained resources of the Bengal Government may have to leave unremedied at least in the earlier stages of the project. In this connection I would ask you to apply to the needs of this institution the words which my father applied to the infant institution at Aligarh.

I perform the ceremony of formally laying the foundation-stone of this Islamia College in the sure hope and belief that it will facilitate the harmonisation of the traditional and revered

ideals of Islamic culture and Islamic piety, with the insistent needs of modern life, and will enable the Moslems of Bengal to play that part in the making of the political and social future of the province to which their numbers, their past history and their very real importance in the body politic entitle them as their just and lawful due.

His Excellency's Speech at the Naval Dinner held at Government House, on 3rd January 1925.

YOUR EXCELLENCY AND GENTLEMEN,

I rise to propose to you the toast of the Sea Services. This is a toast which I have never, I think, heard proposed before, but I am certain that you will be as glad to honour it as I am to propose it. I include in this comprehensive title all those who go down to the sea in ships—the Royal Navy, the Marines, the Merchant Service, those who defend us in war and those who carry our trade in peace and war—all those in fact who go to sea and share its perils. In your presence to-night I find myself in an atmosphere which is refreshingly unusual for an Indian Governor, but one which brings back to me many pleasant memories of the days when I worked in the Admiralty either in the Intelligence Department or as Civil Lord. I worked in that office during the most critical years in the history of our Sea Services, in days of intense anxiety when our very existence depended from day to day upon the vigilance, the courage and the skill both of the Royal Navy and of the Merchant Service. The scarcity of spectacular naval battles led people to ask almost sneeringly "What is the Navy doing?" and because everyone was occupied with their war work, there were few to tell them in reply that the Navy was not only doing all that was expected of it, but was carrying out silently and efficiently tasks which in previous years no one had ever dreamt of. If the men who manned our ships of

war, or our merchant ships or the innumerable small craft which the conditions of the war called into operation—and let us not forget the men, and the women too, who worked in the dockyards—if these men had failed us, no victories on land could have saved us from utter and irreparable disaster. I shall always be grateful for the chance which enabled me in those anxious days to know and appreciate to the full the magnitude of our debt to the Sea Services.

I think one of the most valuable results of the war was the recognition which it brought to everyone of the value of the Merchant Service and of the supreme courage of the splendid men who belong to that Service. His Excellency the Naval Commander-in-Chief will, I hope, bear me out when I say that the war also brought a great rapprochement between the Royal Navy and the Mercantile Marine. Never again after the experiences of those years could there be any difference of outlook or conflict of interests between the men of the Royal Navy and their sea-faring brothers in the Merchant Service. This fact will be emphasized in this toast, as I shall couple with it the names of a distinguished Admiral and of a distinguished Captain in the service of the P. & O. Company. I understand it is the wish of those who have organized this dinner that the comradeship, which was so close and intimate during the war between those who shared common dangers and risked their lives in a common cause, should not cease now that peace has come. It was an admirable idea to gather together the representatives of all our Sea Services, and I hope that this gathering may become an

annual event in Calcutta, and as long as I am Governor of this Presidency, I shall be glad if the dinner is held in Government House. I should be glad to think that I was assisting at the inauguration of a society in this great seaport town which would stand for all that the sea means to India and to the Empire. In war we are conscious enough of the dependence of the Empire upon the Sea Services, but we are apt to lose sight of this in peace time. In Calcutta we see so little of the Royal Navy, that we are inclined to overlook its existence, and we are so very much aware of the existence of the Merchant Service, which is responsible for our being here at all, that we are apt to take its work as a matter of course.

Nearly a year ago I opened the Lascar Memorial, which stands on the banks of the Hooghly, a conspicuous landmark to all the ships that pass up and down that great thoroughfare to remind them of the splendid work performed by the lascars of Bengal during the war. As that monument is a permanent reminder of the debt which this commercial community owes to these crews, so I should like to see a living organization arise out of this gathering to focus our attention in Calcutta on the permanent work and future possibilities of the Sea Services and to make generations to come acquainted with their history and appreciative of their work.

Gentlemen, in proposing this toast I desire to make a special reference to two men who are with us to-night. The first is Mr. Marshall, an ex-Naval Officer and now our energetic River Chaplain, to whom the seamen of Calcutta owe a very deep debt

of gratitude and to whom future generations of seamen in this port will owe even more. Those of you who know Mr. Marshall will understand what I mean when I say that he is a man who has that indescribable gift of getting his own way. To him difficulties only exist to be overcome, evils to be remedied, and when he sets his heart upon anything he is certain to accomplish it, for no one can resist him. When I receive a command from the Viceroy or the Secretary of State I am, perhaps, inclined to feel rebellious, but the faintest wish most humbly expressed by Mr. Marshall has a force which compels most willing obedience. When I tell you, therefore, that this dinner was Mr. Marshall's wish you will understand why we are all present. It was a fortunate day for the seamen of Calcutta when Mr. Marshall arrived here and espoused their cause. When he felt shame at the inadequate provision which was made for their welfare, the improvement of their condition was already assured.

I visited King George's Dock this morning and learnt what an enormous difference its construction would make to the growth of the port. The best answer, I think, to those who croak about a "Lost Dominion" is to be found in the fact that the Port authorities of Calcutta have decided to double their accommodation. But I was also impressed with the necessity of making the welfare of the sea-faring population keep pace with that growth, and, therefore, what pleased me most was to see the site and the plans of the new Seamen's Home inspired by Mr. Marshall and admirably executed by Mr. Crouch, which will, I hope, be erected at a very

early date. When this building is finished, it will remove what is now a reproach to the Port of Calcutta and provide an adequate field for the splendid work which Mr. Marshall has taken in hand.

In saying this I have the great satisfaction of feeling that in one matter at least I have had the courage to disobey the wishes of Mr. Marshall. If I had consulted him about my speech, I am certain that he would have forbidden me to mention his name. This is the only matter, I think, in which I am capable of disregarding his wishes, but I could not propose the health of the Sea Services without reminding you that the best way in which you can give effect to it is to give to Mr. Marshall all your sympathy and support in his noble efforts to make as pleasant as possible the lot of those crews on whom we depend for so much.

The other man to whom I wish in conclusion to make a special reference is His Excellency the Naval Commander-in-Chief with whose name and that of Captain Murray I couple this toast. I greatly welcome Admiral Richmond's presence in Calcutta, and I hope that he and his successors will make this visit an annual one. Admiral Richmond, I know, takes a deep personal interest in the welfare of the Indian Marine. He is anxious to restore it to the position of a fighting force like its predecessor, the Indian Navy, of whose fine achievements in old days he has spoken to me. I wish him all success in carrying out the scheme which he has in view for the reorganization of the Indian Marine. We are very fortunate, I think, in having secured Admiral Richmond as the Naval Commander-in-Chief in this station and I ask you to give him a very cordial welcome.

His Excellency's Speech at the Legislative Council, on 7th January 1925.

GENTLEMEN,

This Council has met, as you know, in a special session for one purpose, and one purpose alone, namely, to consider the proposals of my Government for suppressing terrorist crime in the province. I shall not discuss the provisions of the Bill which will be submitted to you or say anything to-day of a controversial character. The only justification for a Bill of this kind is that the welfare of the State as a whole is in danger and that the danger cannot be averted by any other means. In the speeches which I have recently made I have tried to explain the circumstances in which my Government have felt constrained to take this action and to restrain the liberty of a few men in order that the liberty of many may be secured. It is not necessary for me to repeat what I have already said and it will be for you to decide when you have heard the case, which of the two evils is the greater, that a secret organization should be left free to threaten the lives of those of whom they disapprove, or that the ordinary processes of law should be suspended, for a limited time and in the case of a few individuals, in order to prevent the commission of violent crime, and the spread of terrorism throughout the province.

Any Government which seeks to employ exceptional measures, to deal with exceptional conditions must satisfy the general public that the special

powers will only be used to deal with the special circumstances and that all reasonable safeguards have been provided against their abuse or their application to ordinary political activities. In the Bill which we have drafted and which will be submitted to you to-day we have endeavoured to provide such safeguards, and to limit the use of the powers which the Bill contains to those conditions alone which have constituted the danger to the State against which the Bill is aimed. You will have to determine when you come to discuss the clauses of the Bill how far we have been successful. I earnestly hope that when you have heard from the Hon'ble Member the case for the Bill of which he is in charge, you will realize the necessity for some legislation of this kind and will help the Government to make its provisions as effective as possible for dealing with an admitted danger.

Gentlemen, I recognize that the subject-matter of this Bill is intensely controversial. It would be improper for me to make any speech on this occasion which would aggravate the controversy or embitter the discussion. My sole object in coming to address you at all is, if possible, to make it easier for all of you to conduct your debate in a spirit of mutual tolerance and respect. Differences of opinion in political matters there must always be in a healthy state, also personal rivalries among leaders and struggles of contending parties for power, and these things will often call forth bitter expressions in the clash of argument in debate. In such matters, so far as they exist in Bengal, it is always my desire to keep aloof and detached as far as possible, not to take sides, but to

be an impartial friend to all those who, in the exercise of their constitutional rights, are willing to accept my friendship or advice. In the present transitional stage of the constitution, this task is rendered extraordinarily difficult by reason of the divided responsibility which is placed upon me. But it is made far more difficult by the existence in this country of a deep-rooted distrust of Government as such which does not exist elsewhere. I recognize that this is due to the fact that the Government in this country has for so long been without any element of responsibility to the representatives of an electorate. Parliament has also recognized this fact and has in recent years pledged itself to a policy of progressive advance towards full responsible and representative Government. The success of this policy in its initial stage is, however, still hampered by that spirit of mistrust which is studiously fostered in the Indian Press.

In the last few weeks this measure which we have felt obliged to introduce, has been made even more controversial than its nature necessitates by the constant reiteration in the Press of the charge that the Government of Bengal has abused its powers in the past. They have been accused of fabricating false charges, of planting arms upon innocent men, and of trying to secure convictions by perjured evidence. It is also stated—and has recently been repeated by an *ex-Member* of the Secretary of State's Council—that the High Court have on occasions condemned them for their action. These general and in that form wholly undeserved charges prove on investigation to be founded almost

always on a single case, namely the Mussalmanpara bomb case of 1914, and it is time that the Government and its police officers should once and for all be absolved from the absolutely false charge which is so often repeated against them in connection with that case.

Whenever in all the miasma of falsehood which clouds the actions of Government in this country I have wanted to reveal the truth I have generally been prevented by the need for secrecy—by considerations of somebody's life or reputation. It happens, however, that by a strange chain of circumstances I am in a position to tell the truth concerning this one case, and I am going to do so in the hope and belief that it will help everyone to escape from the unhappy situation in which we are all placed.

Gentlemen, in that case there was an error of our imperfect human justice and a remarkable illustration of divine justice. A guilty man was declared innocent, but, whereas if he had been found guilty, the only thing which the law could have done with him in the name of justice would have been to hang him by the neck until he was dead, or to shut him up in prison for life; by a miscarriage of justice, or, may we suppose, by the intervention of Providence, he was declared innocent. His life was given back to him and a chance afforded to him to redeem the past. This unexpected, and some, perhaps, may think undeserved, opportunity has since been gloriously utilized, and the man has abundantly made good. The divine law of the forgiveness of sins has in his

case triumphed over the human law of retribution—
a life for a life.

Perhaps you will remind me that three High Court Judges declared the accused man in that case to be innocent and condemned the prosecution for trying to destroy him by perjured evidence and you may ask me what right, what justification I can have for now declaring him to be guilty. I do not, of course, criticise the verdict of the court on the evidence before it, but my answer is that I am privileged to know the man and that I am not ashamed to call him my friend. My authority for what I have said is no less a one than his own. The story of how I came to make his acquaintance and of my subsequent relations with him is one of the most dramatic and interesting episodes of my life. Let me tell it to you as shortly and as simply as I can.

I first heard of him when I visited Newcastle in 1921 with the Indian Students Committee. I then learnt from all the authorities at that University that Nogendra Nath Sen Gupta was the best student, the best scholar and the finest character that had ever come to them. They could not speak too highly of the wonderful influence which this man had exercised while he was in their midst. On my return to London, I made enquiries about the student who had been recommended to me in such glowing terms and found that he was none other than the accused in the Mussalmanpara bomb case of which I had never heard till that moment. I then looked into the records of the case at the India Office and found unmistakable proof of his

guilt. I marvelled that so much good had come out of so much evil.

When I came to Bengal the following year I made his acquaintance. He was living at that time at the Oxford Mission at Behala and the good opinions I had heard of him in England were confirmed by those who knew him most intimately at that time. I found that he had sincerely repented of the crime of his youth and had determined to devote the life which had been given back to him to making amends for the past and to saving others from falling into the same error. But a difficulty confronted him. His position before the world was a false one. He was regarded as the innocent victim of Government oppression and in that capacity he was wedded to falsehood for life. On the other hand, to surrender the certificate of innocence which he had received from the law required a higher standard of moral courage than I was prepared to find in any man. I did eventually find, however, to my surprise and delight that the character which had been so strongly recommended to me by those who knew it was great enough even for this supreme test, and I learnt that he was prepared, at whatever cost to himself, to correct the injustice which belief in his innocence involved and to stand before the world in his true colours—as a man who, in the mistaken belief that he was thereby serving a righteous cause, had committed a grievous crime in his youth, but who, by his subsequent blameless conduct and hard work, had made atonement. Although this was indicated to me soon after I first met him, it was a long time before I felt I knew him well enough to discuss

with him face to face the sacrifice which he was prepared to make, and then only when I became convinced that the greatest service he could now render to his country was to dispel by the light of truth the falsehood and prejudice which had gathered round the case in which he was involved. He has recently given me his permission to tell the truth, subject to this single condition that I shall make it clear that in confessing his own guilt he had not incriminated any one else. He has now removed by a supreme act of self-sacrifice the only burden which still rested on his conscience and he stands absolved in the eyes of God and man. I hope that those true friends who believed in his innocence and stood by him in adversity will not think the worse but the better of him for this confession, and I rejoice to know that he can now take in friendship the hand of the men whom he once sought to kill. He has passed through the fire and come out purified, and the truth in this dark story has at last been revealed.

Gentlemen, I have told this story not merely for the purpose of clearing a former Government of a false charge, but in the hope that this example may help us without any submission or surrender on one side more than on the other to find a common meeting ground. You know the saying once uttered by the founder of Christianity, though the purport of it is not confined, I believe, to the Christian religion, but is common to many others: "Know ye the truth and the truth shall make you free." Here is a truth by which one man has made himself free. May we not all use this same truth to make ourselves free also—free from the antagonism

which now enslaves us? With this example before us of all the evil that must result from hatred and violence and, of all the good that can follow the abandonment of such methods, can we not all join in offering to the young patriotic men of Bengal a better way of serving their country than by importing arms and manufacturing bombs for the destruction of its supposed enemies? I appeal to you with all the force I can command to help us in saving your country from the greatest evil which can overtake it. If you once allow secret terrorism to be established in your midst, it will become a habit that you will never be able to eradicate. It is not merely British officials who are affected by it and no change in the form of Government will get rid of it. It will be resorted to by any discontented minority under any form of Government.

Some of you know that this evil has already spread to a dangerous extent. It has even been used against some members of this Council in the course of their ordinary political activities and in the exercise of their constitutional rights. If you do not make a firm and courageous stand against it now it will become the ruin of your country, and a far greater menace to your personal liberty than this law which my Government is placing before you can ever be. Some of you again may sympathize with the motives which inspire these methods of terrorism to-day, but if these methods are successful, it will be your turn to be destroyed by them to-morrow. Your *Swaraj* Government, when it comes, will never have a chance of success if you once admit the right of those who disapprove of it to threaten the murder of those who are responsible for it.

Gentlemen, we all deplore the necessity for special legislation of this kind, but you will not get rid of that necessity by rejecting this Bill. You can do something better than that. You can help to make it a dead letter when it is passed. Some of you have influence with the men who have adopted terrorism as a means to their end. I appeal to you to take to heart the story I have just told you and to make it the starting point of a new chapter in the political history of Bengal. If you will persuade these men to sink their weapons in the waters of the Hooghly and to abandon terrorism once for all as a political method, we will promise you our whole-hearted co-operation in providing them with other and better ways of serving their country. I offer you my assistance with both hands in finding the best means of progressing towards the realization of those ideals which we have in common. With your help and good-will my Government can do more good to those who look to us for assistance than we can do against your opposition, with our help *you* can do more good in remedying the many social and economic grievances of the people than you can if you are wasting your energies in barren political controversy. We cannot in this Council settle the constitution of India, but we can, if we will, build up in the villages and country districts of Bengal workable self-governing representative institutions which will serve as a solid foundation on which the final structure of provincial self-government can afterwards be raised. That is in our power—that we can do ourselves without reference to the Government of India or to Parliament: is it not the

best service we can render to the people of Bengal? Is it not the best service which Bengal can render to the people of India?

If this Council will resolve to-day that terrorism and secret conspiracy shall cease and that all parties shall come together to evolve the best possible system of local self-government in the rural districts to serve as a foundation for ultimate Provincial Self-Government, future generations will have cause to bless your labours and to say of this Council that it proved a turning point in the constitutional history of India, as it turned Bengal from the wilderness of profitless strife in which she was wandering and set her feet upon a broad highway which led straight to the promised land of her political aspirations.

*Joint Address presented by the Municipality and
the District Board of Jessore, on 16th January,
1925.*

We, the members of the Reception Committee, on behalf of the District Board and the people of Jessore, beg to offer Your Excellency our cordial welcome on the occasion of your first visit to the headquarters of the district.

2. It is not often that the people of the mufassal are fortunate enough to come in personal contact with the Governor of the province and lay their wants and grievances before him, and we gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity of your visit to our district for respectfully bringing to Your Excellency's kind notice first of all the subject of the improvement of the Bhyrab, which has been uppermost in our minds for over half a century, and which, in spite of the sympathetic attitude of Your Excellency's predecessors, we regret to say, cannot still be said to be fairly in the way of being carried out.

3. It is a matter of profound sorrow to us that the Bhyrab scheme, which was almost complete during the time of Lord Ronaldshay, has not yet been taken up, and even those amongst us, whose minds have not yet sunk into utter despair, are not without serious misgiving that the scheme, if it is at all carried out, may leave out the most essential element for its success, namely, the joining of the Bhyrab with the Mathabhanga by a cut, and of which we were given a definite assurance by Lord Ronaldshay.

4. Most of our rivers take their rise from the Mathabhanga and they have been cut off from the parent river on account of the silting up of their sources. They have been now converted into more or less stagnant pools in their upper reaches, for the most part of the year affording unlimited facilities for the breeding of anopheles, the carriers of malarial parasite. It may not be out of place to invite Your Excellency's personal attention to the various schemes prepared by the Jessore Public Works Department Drainage Division during the time of Lord Carmichael for the improvement of the rivers of this district, none of which has yet been given effect to.

5. Some of our rivers, we beg humbly to submit, may be revived without much difficulty, as, for instance, the river Nabaganga which takes its rise from the Mathabhanga near Chuadanga. A cut of 3 miles, joining it with the parent river at a cost not exceeding Rs. 50,000, will give a new lease of life to it. It will not only benefit the malarious subdivisions of Magura and Jhenida, but also a large portion of the Chuadanga subdivision of Nadia, which is equally malarious, by flushing it during the rainy season and thus utilizing a large volume of flood water, which now runs to waste. The Kumar, the Chitra and the Ichhamaty may similarly be improved by joining them with the Mathabhanga. In this connection, we also beg to urge upon Your Excellency the necessity of improving the condition of the Mathabhanga itself, for the improvement of both of Jessore and Nadia, by removing the silt-bar at its source where it rises from the Padma or the Ganges, and, if necessary,

utilizing the dredger, which Your Excellency had the pleasure of christening after Lord Ronaldshay, and declaring it fit and ready for its useful career, but which unfortunately is lying idle in the Hooghly.

6. We also beg to submit most respectfully that Jessore, which is a river district, depends for its material well-being upon the regulation of its waterways, and we cannot put our idea in more suitable language than in the following words of late Sir Arthur Cotton, R.E., K.C.S.I., the greatest Irrigation Engineer India has ever seen. "Upon the regulation of waterways," says Sir Arthur Cotton in his notes in connection with Orissa Famine of 1862, "depends incomparably more than on anything else its material well-being. This is specially the case with tropical and other countries, which have well-defined periodical rains." Want of regulation of our rivers makes us suffer alike from drought and flood, and it is our humble suggestion that all our rivers may be revived, regulated and made alive by canalising them and levying tolls on boats plying on them to the immense benefit of both the people and the State.

7. Your Excellency's Government has paid considerable attention to the eradication of water hyacinth, which is a scourge of this district also. In our humble opinion, the problem cannot be successfully grappled with by the help of manual labour alone except at a prohibitive cost, and the only effectual way by which it can be accomplished is by making our rivers sufficiently alive and strong enough to float them down to the sea during the rainy season. This pest is never found to

flourish in flowing rivers. The people have also to do their own part of the work by picking up the remnants after the floods, as has been suggested by Dr. Brühl.

8. We beg to bring to Your Excellency's kind notice that the district of Jessore, which is notoriously malarious and unhealthy, and whose population has decreased by over two lakhs within the last four decades, and which suffers heavily from want of good drinking water during the dry season, is in need of special care and attention at the hands of the Government, inasmuch as the District Board is a poor one and cannot successfully cope with the many crying wants of the district. We, therefore, pray that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to grant a substantial amount from the provincial revenue for this purpose. In this connection, we beg to bring to Your Excellency's kind notice, that there is a likelihood of a surplus of over two lakhs of rupees from the fund of the settlement operations of this district, and as this amount represents the excess contribution of landlords and tenants of this district towards the settlement cost, it cannot be better utilized than by making provision for the drinking water of the rural area of this district.

9. Malarious and unhealthy as our district is, we cannot but consider it our bounden duty to pray to Your Excellency for the establishment of a medical school for medical education, specially as most of our students are unable to get admission in the Calcutta institutions for medical training, and we, on our part, shall do our level best to co-operate with Your Excellency in contributing our humble mite towards the project.

10. The question of unemployment of the educated middle classes is as keen in our district as in the rest of Bengal and we venture to suggest that young men or a group of young men, as may be found willing and qualified to start agricultural farms or industrial concerns, may be given loans by the State without or with only small interest for the purpose, and these may be kept under expert advice and State control till the repayment of the loan. In this connection we also beg to submit that the virgin lands of the Sundarbans, a part of which was within Jessore before the separation of Khulna from it, which are now leased out only to cultivating classes, may also be given to middle class youngmen. But in their case the area of the holdings will have to be made larger than what is ordinarily leased out to individual cultivators.

11. In conclusion, we beg to thank Your Excellency for the troubles you have taken in coming here and thus affording us an opportunity to lay some of our wants before you, and we hope Your Excellency will give them your kind consideration.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Address
presented at Jessore, on 16th January
1925.***

GENTLEMEN,

I am extremely grateful for the kind words of welcome contained in your address. Though this is the first occasion on which I have been able to pay a visit in person to the headquarters of your district, I was made acquainted with its characteristics and with its principal need soon after my arrival in Bengal and I have had many discussions with my technical advisers regarding the best means of improving its conditions.

As you point out in your address, the unhealthiness of your district is mainly caused by the stagnation of the river system and all your hopes for its improvement are concentrated upon what is known as the Bhyrab scheme. Dr. Bentley, the Director of Public Health, has interested himself keenly in this scheme and has often discussed it with me. Mr. Huntingford, the late Chief Engineer, has been at work upon it for the last three years and has also discussed it with me. I will try and tell you what is the general character of the advice I have received, and as the matter is very technical and complicated, I have brought with me Mr. Addams-Williams, the present Chief Engineer, in order that he may discuss with you in person and on the spot the various schemes which we have worked out. In our opinion these schemes are ones which ought to be carried out under the

Sanitary and Agricultural Improvements Act of 1920.— If the District Board will take up the schemes under this Act, there is no reason why they should not be carried out, the District Board meeting the cost by a Government loan which they would repay by means of recoveries made from the persons benefited by the scheme. This was just the kind of purpose for which that Act was designed.

There are three separate but complementary schemes for the improvement of different sections of the Bhyrab; the first provides for flushing the stretches of the river east of the Mathabhanga and down as far as Tahirpur. This is estimated to cost over 13½ lakhs, and this figure is being scrutinized again to see if it is capable of any reduction.

The second scheme provides for flushing the stretches of the river east of Tahirpur. It is proposed to obtain water from the Nabaganga which itself receives spill water from rivers on its north and to excavate a fresh channel for carrying the water. Provision will also be made for the proper regulation of the water levels in a large number of *bhils*, more land will be irrigated and the Chitra will be supplied with water. This scheme will flush 30 miles of the river and it is estimated to cost 63½ lakhs. This is a very high figure, but I am informed by the Chief Engineer that it could be considerably reduced if suitable excavation plant could be utilized.

The third section which has only been under investigation during the last monsoon, aims at flushing 12 miles of the river above its junction

with the Ufra Khal by utilizing the Dhopakhola Khal.* It will also regulate and flush the Juleswar Bhil.

These are the projects which the Government have worked out and believe to be the most efficacious for the improvement of this district, but there are one or two other matters in connection with them which you have mentioned in your address and to which I should refer.

The proposal for a 3-mile cut between the Mathabhanga and the Nabaganga is being investigated, but you have, I am told, underestimated the cost which is likely to be two or three lakhs rather than half a lakh. Enquiries will also be made as to the proposal to connect the Chitra with the Mathabhanga, but the Kumar and the Ichhamaty are already connected with it and carry substantial supplies of water in the freshets.

The question of the head bar in the Mathabhanga is a difficult one; such bars often form again rapidly after the dredger has left. Moreover, the draught of the *Ronaldshay*, which you suggest might be used, is too great for this river, and another difficulty is that dredging can be usefully done only after the rivers have fallen considerably, and then, of course, there is a risk of the dredger being left high and dry in the channel until the following monsoon.

The resuscitation of these dead rivers is the most important problem in this district and you have naturally devoted to its consideration the greater part of your address. I hope while I am here to discuss with the present Chairman and the

late Chairman of your District Board, who are so intimately acquainted with this problem, the details of these schemes to which I have referred, and the possibility of carrying them out.

Let me now turn to some of the other questions which you have raised.

The importance of improving the supply of drinking water in the rural areas is fully recognized by Government and we hope to be able to give you some substantial help during the coming year. It will not be possible, I am afraid, for us to adopt your suggestion of applying the anticipated surplus from the settlement operations to this purpose. This surplus is a provincial asset and we have replied to similar requests in other districts that as any deficit would have to be met from provincial revenues, so any excess should be similarly credited.

You rightly point out that the mischief caused by the spread of water hyacinth cannot be remedied by manual labour alone, and if and when the District Board are able to carry out the river development schemes to which I have referred, the gravity of this problem will be greatly reduced. Government, as you know, have been giving their anxious attention to the matter, and we are at this moment engaged on experiments in the destruction of this weed. Whatever may be the result of these experiments, it is clear that the co-operation of local bodies and voluntary organizations will be necessary if any real headway is to be made. Such co-operation has been promised by the Central Anti-Malarial Society, the Bengal Health Association and the Bengal Social Service League, and

I am glad to hear that the Jessore District Board have adopted bye-laws empowering them to require the owners of land and water to remove any plants which are found thereon. I hope they will use these bye-laws with vigour. Meanwhile Dr. Brühl has, with great public spirit, come forward to make further experiments and carry on further research work on the life history of the plant on lines suggested by Sir J. C. Bose's Committee and I confidently expect very beneficial results from his work.

I am afraid your suggestion for the establishment of a medical school here cannot be entertained. I would refer you to what I said at Jalpaiguri at the beginning of last year as to the conditions precedent to the establishment of such a school. None of those conditions is as yet satisfied here, nor, so far as I can see, is there any immediate prospect of their being satisfied.

You suggest as steps towards the solution of unemployment amongst the educated middle classes, the grant of loans to enable young men to start agricultural farms and also the lease of Sundarbans land. With regard to the former, such loans could, of course, be granted, provided that the Collector were satisfied that the loan was genuinely needed for land improvement or some agricultural object, and that the security was sufficient. But the regular rate of interest charged to ordinary cultivators, namely, $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., could not be waived or reduced,

As regards the suggestion that the areas in the Sundarbans to be leased out should be larger than is permitted to ordinary cultivators, the

maximum area allowed to any one man is 75 bighas, and this would seem ample to enable young men to make a start and show whether they were able to cultivate successfully.

Gentlemen, this visit to Jessore completes the programme of my provincial tours. I have now visited the headquarters of every district in Bengal and I should like, if you will allow me, to conclude by giving you a few of my impressions. I have not only enjoyed these tours, but I have greatly profited by them. Although I am only able to obtain a superficial acquaintance with the special characteristics of each district yet the sum total of the experience I have thus gained has been of the utmost value. Practically all that I now know about the province of Bengal has been derived from a study of the various problems which have been brought to my notice by the addresses I have received and from the discussion of them with local representatives. I have also received a most favourable impression of the working of local self-government institutions in the province. This is a matter of which practically nothing is known in England, and when I go back the best evidence I can submit to my countrymen of the fitness of India for responsible government will be derived from the working of the representative element in the local self-government machinery of this province. All the difficulties which are so often quoted as obstacles to the concession of political responsibility are here present though in a smaller degree. On Union Boards, Local Boards and District Boards I find Muhammadans and Hindus as well as all castes of the latter working together, and solid work for the

improvement of local conditions is there being done. The chief hindrance to more rapid progress is lack of money. With more funds all these local bodies could effect immense improvements in education and in public health. The impression, therefore, that I have formed as the result of my provincial tours is that there is nothing radically wrong with the machinery of Local Government. It can be improved no doubt, there are some defects which could be removed, but on the whole the machinery for grappling with local needs is adequate and the will to effect local improvements is also present. What is chiefly needed is more money. The great problem of the moment then seems to be to increase the wealth of the country. The local governing bodies—Municipalities and District Boards—are at present rather too inclined to believe that the resources of the Provincial Government are unlimited and that all their needs can be met by grants-in-aid from provincial revenues. A great deal of space, therefore, in my replies to addresses has had to be occupied with refusing specific requests and explaining the limitations which are necessarily attached to Government assistance.

During the two years which still remain of my term of office I hope to concentrate upon this problem of increasing the wealth of the province, and thereby the ability of Government agencies, whether local or provincial, to supply local needs. Wealth is of two kinds and may be derived either from human resources or from the resources of the soil. Human wealth is at present greatly diminished both by ignorance and disease, and it is also

common knowledge that the soil of Bengal is capable of a much greater yield than is at present obtained from it.

The problems of education, public health and agricultural improvement, therefore, require special attention from the point of view of increasing wealth. The cultivators must be improved by the spread of primary education, and secondary education must be given a more practical bias so that from the *bhadralog* class we may obtain more producers with technical qualifications and fewer men with merely literary attainments. By the prevention of disease the efficiency of the population must be raised and, lastly, the productivity of the soil must be increased by scientific research and the improvement of methods of cultivation. None of these things can be accomplished by the Provincial Government alone, but they can all be accomplished in a comparatively short time by the co-operation of the local governing bodies with the Provincial Government.

In conclusion, I must thank you again for your welcome and for the encouragement which I have derived from a knowledge of the good work which you are doing.

***His Excellency's Speech at the Founder's
Day Ceremony, Presidency College,
on 20th January 1925.***

MR. STAPLETON, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am very pleased to be present on this anniversary of your Foundation not only as a guest, but in the capacity of 'Visitor' to the Presidency College, which since Lord Carmichael's time Governors of Bengal have been glad to assume. The interesting historical review of the college, which the Principal has given in his address, has prompted me to make some researches myself into the history of this function of visitor and I have been interested to find that the Governor of Bengal, in accepting the function of visitor to the Presidency College, strikes out no new path, but merely turns full circle the wheel of tradition.

I learnt what is probably known to most of you that the Presidency College has grown from the school which was opened on the 20th January 1817, in the Chitpore Road, that this institution was, in the first instance, a private and not a Government institution, and that subsequently in the course of time Government assumed responsibility for it. The institution met with many difficulties in its early days and eventually Government was asked on the initiative of David Hare of pious memory to save it from ruin. Government willingly accepted this responsibility, but stipulated for a small measure of control which the Managers were at first unwilling to accord. During the

negotiations which ensued a letter was written which will be found in the Proceedings of 1829 and from which I will quote one sentence—

“ We thought it advisable to decline acceptance of the authority thus offered to us, but we deemed it expedient to propose taking share in the control of the institution as visitors of the college.”

So wrote the Committee of Public Instruction which under Government conducted the educational administration of that day. Thus it will be seen that nearly a hundred years ago Government assumed over the Presidency College of that day that function of ‘Visitor’ which it is to-day my privilege to enjoy.

I further learnt that the first anniversary meeting of the supporters of the institution was held on the 6th January 1818. The number of boys at that time was 69. The enthusiasm of its promoters, however, was not damped by small numbers or modest beginnings. Presidency College, has always had men who believed in it and dreamed of a great future for it. In spite of vastly changed circumstances there are many to-day who, though Presidency College might be thought a sufficiently imposing institution, still believe that we have not yet seen the half of what it one day may be. That these firm believers in the Presidency College are merely following in the footsteps of their predecessors may be illustrated by two small extracts from its history. The report of the first

anniversary meeting tells us that on the day of the opening of the school a learned Hindu said :

“The Hindu College will be like the *bur* or banian tree which is at first but a small plant, but afterwards becomes the greatest of all trees.”

Similarly in 1853, in Lord Dalhousie's time the Secretary to the Government of Bengal wrote as follows :—

“The time, His Lordship doubts not, will come, though it is probably still in the distant future, when the Presidency College, having elevated itself by its reputation, and being enriched by endowments and scholarships, will extend its sphere of attraction far beyond the local limits which it is now designed to serve; and when, strengthened by the most distinguished scholars from other cities, and united with the Medical College in all its various departments, as well as with other Professorships of practical science and art whose establishment cannot be long postponed, it will expand itself into something approaching to the dignity and proportions of an Indian University.”

As we stand here and look around, as we think of the enormous expansion of collegiate and school education in Bengal since 1817, we are bound to acknowledge that the simile of the banian tree was a truthful and prophetic one. The tree has spread and grown in the manner specially characteristic of the banian so that Presidency College no longer stands out as the main and almost the only stem, but is one of many vigorous growths. One little rootlet,—that development which Lord Dalhousie

erroneously thought so far off in 1853, and which was in fact less than half a decade away,—has now spread so far and put forth so many offshoots that it is difficult to distinguish the original parent stem. Presidency College, however, continues to stand out as one of the stoutest of the banian trunks, and to make an invaluable contribution to the support of the whole organism a contribution which, as Presidency College men believe, and as I recognize, is essential to the well-being of the whole. As we all know, the proper method of co-ordination between the Presidency College and the University in its latter day developments was one of the subjects on which the Sadler Commission spent much thought and it is one which, I understand, Presidency College men consider that Government and the University ought to face at an early date. I hope the University and the Presidency College Committees now sitting will give us good advice on this matter.

I can see, however, from the Principal's speech that your faith in the future of Presidency College is firm, and that you are convinced that, whatever form of integration with University activities may ultimately be adopted, it is essential that the Presidency College, which co-operates with the University, should be a developing organism retaining an individuality of its own, and contributing from that individuality to the University something valuable of which it would otherwise be deprived. This was the view of the Sadler Commission and I am convinced that it is the right view. You, therefore, claim, and I am sure rightly claim, that Presidency College should not be

neglected by Government merely because Government is assisting in the development of the University of Calcutta in the matter of those activities in which it tends to overshadow you, though it still needs your co-operation, I mean Post-graduate studies.

I hear, therefore, with interest of your schemes for development and can assure you that we are very far from thinking that on account of University needs, Presidency College must be regarded as having reached the limit of its expansion. Whatever is needed for its development we shall be glad to concede within the narrow limits of our financial resources. If, however, the college is to depend on the help of Government alone, its growth must necessarily be slow. Those rich endowments, which Lord Dalhousie anticipated in the passage which I have quoted, have unfortunately not materialised in Presidency College to the extent that was hoped. For instance, the appeal to the public of your former Principal, Mr. H. R. James, for a College Hall fell on unheeding ears. This was, perhaps, due to the belief that because the institution was a Government one, endowments would merely relieve Government of its commitments. Such a belief would be misguided, and I hope no one here holds it. If, however, the fact that Presidency College is a Government institution does actually hinder its development, then the Government patronage is a doubtful benefit and should, perhaps, in the interests of the college itself, be removed. We have good warrant in the Sadler Commission's Report for asking ourselves whether we should not as a Government divest

ourselves of direct responsibility for the college, and instead hand it over to a Body of Trustees who would then develop the college with the help of Government grants and such endowments as they might receive from the public. No decision on these lines has, of course, been taken as yet, nor will it ever be taken unless it is clearly shown to be in the interests of the college. It is a subject which, I hope, the Presidency College Committee now sitting will consider and express an opinion upon.

Whatever future form the college may take, whatever changes may happen in its constitution and administration, I am glad to know that it is doing good work in the present. I have heard with special interest that you are starting an Old Boys' Society, a society which, if it had been started earlier, would have included those great sons of the Presidency College, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, whose loss we had to deplore in that year of great losses, 1924, which also robbed you of that gifted member of your staff, the poet Manmohan Ghose. Such a society would, I think, at any time include most of the great names of Bengal. I wish the new venture all success. I also hope that the new system of tutorial guidance promoted so energetically by Mr. Stapleton will bear the fruit expected of it in comradeship and collaboration between staff and students which is such a real need for young men at the formative period of their lives, and which the Sadler Commission, in the passage quoted by Mr. Stapleton, so clearly outlined. I wish you success in this and all developments

making for unity, fellowship and corporate spirit within the college. With you I regret that the generous scheme of development which Mr. James, your former Principal, expounded before Lord Carmichael on this very spot in 1913 has made little or no progress owing to the stringency of post-war conditions in Bengal. So far as I can help within the limits within which the Government of Bengal must perforce confine its activities in these difficult days, you may rely on me for support in all that makes for the efficiency, well-being and development of Presidency College.

***His Excellency's Address to Mr. W. Cook,
Watch and Ward Officer, Eastern
Bengal Railway, when presenting him
with the King's Police Medal, at a
Police Parade at Lal Bazar, on 21st
January 1921 .***

MR. COOK,

You joined the Calcutta Police in May 1914, and from the 4th of October of that year held charge of the Reserve Force with the rank of Superintendent until, on the creation of the post of Assistant Commissioner in 1918, you were promoted to that appointment. In this capacity you were responsible for the discipline and order of the Headquarters Force, a very difficult task which you carried out with conspicuous success. At the end of 1921, you were appointed Additional Deputy Commissioner, North Division, for a period of six months and were placed in charge of special patrols required to deal with the non-co-operation campaign. In this capacity your work merited the highest praise and you displayed great tact and patience under the most trying circumstances on numerous occasions facing very grave personal risks without the slightest hesitation. In short, you participated in the suppression of every big disturbance in Calcutta during the last seven years and always displayed singular presence of mind and courage.

I congratulate you on the King's Police Medal, which you have so well earned.

***His Excellency's Address to Captain
R. G. Hanna, of S.S. Mathura, when
presenting him with a Gold Cigarette
Case, on 21st January 1925.***

CAPTAIN HANNA,

I am glad of this opportunity of handing to you in public this gold cigarette case which the Government of Bengal have presented to you in recognition of the skill and determination which you displayed in saving a tindal from drowning. For the benefit of those who are present here to-day, I should like to recount quite briefly the circumstances in which the rescue took place.

At 6-30 A.M. on Sunday, 25th May 1924, the Chief Engineer of your ship *Mathura* reported to you that the third fireman tindal was missing. It was subsequently ascertained that the tindal had quarrelled with a fireman in the engine-room and had deliberately jumped overboard three hours before his disappearance was noticed. You immediately turned the ship about and placed her on a course opposite to that she was then steering. The tindal was sighted at 9-56 and at 10-15 he was brought on board, apparently little the worse for his experience, although it is estimated that the ship had steamed 78 miles altogether from the time the tindal is believed to have jumped overboard until he was picked up.

These facts disclose a most remarkable example of life saving at sea. For, in performing this feat you displayed not only excellent seamanship but also great determination in doing all that lay in your power to save the life of one of your men. I congratulate you most heartily and have great pleasure in handing to you this token of the Government of Bengal's admiration for your skill, determination and humanity.

His Excellency's Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on 4th February 1925.

SIR RAJENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

When I attended for the first time your annual meeting last year, I was privileged to listen to a most able speech from the retiring President, Dr. Annandale. His extreme modesty, coupled with his profound knowledge, gave special importance to the sound doctrines which he enunciated in his presidential address. The words which he used on that occasion have since acquired an even greater significance by the tragic fact that they proved to be in effect his last message to the world of culture and learning in India. Little did any of us think as we listened to his brilliant address that we were so soon to lose him and those of us who desire to honour his memory can find no better way of doing so than to work for the success of this Society which was so near his heart and of which he was such a distinguished ornament. During his life time he showed his interest in the activities of the Society by the offices which he held in it and by the many learned papers which he contributed to its journals; and at his death he gave further proof of his devotion to the Society's welfare by the legacies he has made of his private library, and of money to be spent on the preservation and exhibition of its artistic treasures. His death is, indeed, a heavy loss to the Society, but his example will, I hope, be an abiding stimulus to

others to promote the culture and learning which form the surest foundation of a nation's greatness.

As the President has reminded us, we have also been deprived during the past year of the greatest man of learning of the present generation in Bengal. That the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has been successively mourned by every learned society in Bengal is an indication of the versatility of his genius and of the deep interest which he took in every movement for the encouragement of art and learning.

If this Society has suffered greatly by the loss of these two distinguished men during the past year you will agree with me, I am sure, that it has gained by having Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee as its President. Like his predecessor, Dr. Annandale, Sir Rajendra Nath shines through the innate modesty that seeks ever to conceal his merits. That modesty has led him to represent himself as a plain business man with little title to be the President of a learned society, but the thoughtful and instructive address which he has just delivered is sufficient vindication of the soundness of your choice in selecting him as your President and the valuable work he has done for the Society during the past year has been fittingly recognized by your selection of him to a second year of office. His deep and abiding interest in the welfare of this Society is shown by the readiness with which, amid all his other duties, he has undertaken the duties of President—not as a mere title, but with the full determination to guide the deliberations of the Council and to control the destinies of the Society. Sir Rajendra Nath is a striking instance of the

truism of which Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was also so remarkable an example, that those who have least leisure manage to devote the most time to interests outside their normal occupation. The benevolent activities in this city appear to be concentrated among a few public-spirited energetic men; it would be well if others would emulate their enthusiasm and share with them work of which so much remains to be done.

Sir Rajendra Nath has also shown his interest in the Society by the deep thought he has evidently devoted to the means for its improvement. He has clearly mapped out his policy and indicated the aims and ideals which he considers should actuate the activities of the Society. If I read his suggestions aright, he aims at broadening the scope of the Society and making it appeal to a wider circle, while at the same time rigidly scrutinising the principles underlying the conferment of its fellowships. In this way he hopes to make the Society more popular without sacrificing the high standard which it always enjoyed. I hope that the suggestions Sir Rajendra Nath has tentatively thrown out for the end he has in view will receive the careful consideration they deserve. For, in this way perhaps, we shall see not only a restoration of its financial position and the extension of its scholarly work, but also the re-establishment of the Society in its place of pre-eminence—the final authority on problems affecting man and nature in Asia. A Society such as this must not trade on the traditions of the past, but must use these traditions merely as a foundation and an inspiration for the future.

During the last year special attention has again been paid to the material welfare and regeneration of this Society and I should like to congratulate its members on the very satisfactory record which the report for 1924 discloses. It is a record of solid unostentatious work, and, if during the year, the Society cannot point to any specially brilliant achievements, the period has at least been one of consolidation, which is the necessary preliminary to advance and expansion. During this period a great deal of money has had to be spent on organization and on strengthening its foundations in every direction. This necessarily results in a restriction of the Society's output in research and scholarship. This Society is as it were a clearing house of knowledge, and unless its organization is placed on a business footing, its books maintained in good order and the administration managed economically in respect of time, labour and money, we cannot expect the maximum of efficiency on its research side. The relationship between the business and technical or literary aspects of any learned society would make an interesting study, but it must be conceded that unless the foundations of business methods are laid deep and firmly the builders collaborating in the construction of the building will be handicapped and will have less scope for using their materials to advantage. You do not expect the best architect to be his own builder or engineer, and yet this is the mistake learned societies so frequently make in the management of their own affairs. The appointment as General Secretary of Mr. Van Manen, indicated the Society's recognition that business methods and

scholarship must go hand in hand. In fact Mr. Van Manen is himself an epitome of what the Society should be—a combination of practical business capacity and scholarly brilliance and it was, perhaps, because the necessity of placing the Society on a businesslike footing was so urgent, that this aspect of the combination was further emphasised by the appointment of Sir Rajendra Nath as President. It has certainly been in the best interests of the Society that so eminent a business-man should have been elected its President and the appointment has been thoroughly justified. I hope that the progress made during his second year will be as satisfactory as that made in 1924.

I should like to mention just a few achievements, some of the more notable reforms in the internal administration of Society, reforms which will make for the easier and more efficient management of the Society and for the greater accessibility of its vast treasure.

When I addressed this Society last year, I was able to point to three outstanding achievements and I called attention to two notable needs. These achievements were the thorough renovation of the buildings, the re-organization in the administration of the Society and the increase in its membership: these three achievements, which are achievements on the material side, represent the beginning of a new era for the Society. They are assets, the value of which will be appreciated more and more as time goes on, although their benefits may not be manifest at once. The annual report and the President's address have both made clear the many directions in which the re-organization has been

effected, and all the improvements aim at facilitating reference and rendering the treasures of the Society more easily accessible to the scholar and student. I may mention, for instance, the improvements effected in the library, in the system of filing and recording, and so on: another important and far-reaching reform is the introduction of fixed scales of pay and promotion and the inauguration of a provident fund for the staff. A fixed comprehensive policy governs these changes and has been substituted for a haphazard series of measures improvised to meet occasions as they arise.

The needs to which I referred last year were a further increase in membership (for, as I have said, a substantial increase was one of the achievements of the year) and facilities for the preservation and display of the Society's valuable treasures to the best advantage. The first of the needs has been satisfied. Records have been created not only in the number of new elections, but also in the net increase during the year: I hope that this increased interest will be maintained and that the Society will obtain the hundred additional members still required to constitute a record in total membership. This is something definite and inspiring to work for. I am encouraged by the very satisfactory response which was made to my appeal for new members last year to renew that appeal on this occasion to all those interested in culture and intellectual pursuits—whatever their occupation or race, whether official or non-official, experts or laymen—to join the Society, so that its membership in 1925 may surpass all previous records.

The other need—the preservation and display of the Society's valuable treasures—has also been largely met and the General Secretary's report tells us of the satisfactory progress that has been made in this direction.

In fact, the results which the Society anticipated from the re-organization and co-ordination of its activities have been fully attained during the year. There has been a greater number of new elections, manuscripts acquired, library books and manuscripts bound, publications issued and books sold than in almost any previous year. Finally the regular income of the Society has substantially increased.

Hitherto I have dealt with what I may call the business side of the Society's activities, and I have pointed out that this aspect has very rightly been emphasised during the past two years; although this has necessarily restricted the main activities of the Society, yet the report shows very satisfactory results in literary work also. Much of the work of members of the Society has already been noticed and acknowledged by the international world of learning with an appreciation indicative of interest and affection. It must, indeed, have been most gratifying to the Society to note the immediate and generous response from scholarly circles to the literary output of the year; and I would quote, especially the reception given, to the descriptive catalogue of Persian manuscripts, compiled by Mr. Ivanow, whom we welcomed last year. •

Other outstanding achievements of the year have been the very satisfactory progress made with the Bibliotheca Indica and the Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts.

The year then has been a very satisfactory one not only because of the immediate output of scholarly work and the re-organization of the Society on a business basis, but even more so from the promise of greater achievements, which this very re-organization holds out. The work of the last two years has been like that of the town planner, who has to demolish old buildings, which have been set down at haphazard without reference to the lay out of the whole city, in order that the architects and builders may have full scope for their art.

In conclusion, I appeal again not merely to scholars and research workers, but to all who are interested in the cultivation of the mind and of the humane arts, or in the pursuit of science, to join this Society. They will thus not only benefit themselves, but also help, no less effectively because indirectly, in increasing the sum of human knowledge and the credit of Bengal in the world of culture. Sir Rajendra Nath's connection with the Society is a guarantee that it will be administered on economical and efficient lines and the policy he has outlined should give us confidence in the high ideals that will continue to inspire the Society.

His Excellency's Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Kalimpong Homes (Calcutta Committee), on 20th February 1925.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

My interest in the Kalimpong Homes has been too often expressed to need any repetition on this occasion. Dr. Graham knows, I think, by this time not only that he can count on at least one visit from me every year, but that a visit to Kalimpong is one of the most delightful experiences of my annual stay in the hills. On the occasion of my last visit I need hardly say that Dr. Graham managed to find a ceremony for me to preside at and that this ceremony was in itself evidence of the continued growth of his work. In May last I was privileged to lay the foundation-stone of the Ballantyne Block, which has been built with money given only a few weeks before her death by Mrs. Ballantyne in memory of her son who was so well known in Calcutta and whose early death was universally mourned here. This will provide accommodation for two most useful classes—Manual Instruction and Telegraphy Training—and incidentally will enable greater use to be made of the playing fields near the school building. I am glad to hear that the building has now been completed and is ready for use.

Such gifts as these indicate the abiding interest taken by friends of the Homes in their welfare and expansion and the confidence they have in their

future. That interest, so far as Calcutta is concerned, is further shown by the wonderful success with which the Annual Kalimpong Dance always meets. Another feature of the year—and further proof of the interest taken by our old friends—has been the strengthening of the endowment fund. That good old friend of the Homes, Mr. R. D. Macgregor, who gave a lakh of rupees only 14 months ago, has given Rs. 1,20,000 more to the endowment fund. The fund has further profited by the generous gifts of Sir Robert Watson Smyth, the late Mr. Few's Estate, Miss Chapman, Miss Pithie and Mr. Maling Grant. The importance of an endowment fund for such a colony as this cannot be overestimated, and I hope the example set by these ladies and gentlemen will be followed by others who, having finished their careers in India, are anxious to leave behind them a lasting token of their gratitude to the country of their adoption.

I understand that the endowment fund has now reached the figure of five lakhs of rupees, but how much more remains to be done will be appreciated when we realize that this sum provides for the endowment of only 80 children out of a total of 625.

The last four years have necessarily been a period of consolidation, and these additions to the endowment fund represent, perhaps, the most satisfactory aspect of it. But it is characteristic of Dr. Graham that, while recognizing the importance of providing for the permanence of the work at its present stage, he is not content merely to perpetuate the present. He has visualized the directions in which the Homes must still further develop and has prepared a programme of its likely needs, both

immediate and more remote. The wonderful success of these Homes has from the first been due to that vision which enabled Dr. Graham to look far ahead, and to his faith in the ultimate realization of his dreams. A great commander in war must plan his campaign with a view to all eventualities, however remote, and so with the founder and controlling spirit of such a colony as this. Dr. Graham is one of those who can never reach his goal, as that goal is always receding as he approaches it. We find that he has already indicated the direction in which he desires expansion to take place for the better accommodation of the staff, the housing of the children and the provision of agricultural training.

I was very greatly impressed with the beauty of the Chapel, which is now nearing completion and which Dr. Graham hopes to have dedicated on 24th September of this year—being the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the Homes. I am delighted to hear that the special appeal for the Rs. 60,000 to complete the Chapel has been entirely successful and that Rs. 63,000 has been subscribed mainly through the energy and generosity of Mr. Thomas McMorran, whom we saw here last year, and his London friends. We are now happy to know that the building will be worthy of her whom it has been designed to commemorate. If any friends of the Homes are anxious to show their special appreciation of the late Mrs. Graham's services to humanity, I am told that a pipe organ and chimes are two special needs of the Chapel. Dr. Graham does not beg. He only offers to his friends the opportunity of spending their wealth

in such a manner as to enrich themselves. The opportunity which he now offers to those who have money to spare is that they may cause the music of praise and thanksgiving and the bells which summon that happy colony to prayer to echo sweetly through the hills of Kalimpong.

The year has been a sad one and has robbed the Homes of three life-long friends and supporters; Sir William Duke was an Honorary Vice-President of the Homes and never lost interest in them after his return to England in spite of the overwhelming duties that his work at the India Office imposed upon him. In fact it was from him that I first heard of them myself. Dr. Francis's devotion to Anglo-Indian education was well known and he rendered direct services to the Homes by acting as Honorary Superintendent on two occasions. Dr. Sutherland's energies in Kalimpong were directed mainly to the education of hill boys, but he always took a keen and personal interest in the Homes and the life of the workers.

I want now to say something about the attitude of Government towards the Homes. When I said last year that our failure to support the Kalimpong Homes weighed upon my conscience and that I should not be happy until we had replaced the sum we had withdrawn, I was under the impression that the grant which we had been obliged to withdraw in 1924 had been a recurring grant and was in the nature of an annual subscription. I did not like to think that the Government had disappeared as it were from your list of annual subscribers and I hoped that we should soon be in a position to reappear there. It has since been

explained to me, however, that the grants of Rs. 40,000, Rs. 80,000 and Rs. 60,000 which the Government of Bengal made to the Homes in 1921, 1922 and 1923, respectively, were not recurring, but non-recurring grants, that is to say, they were in the nature of special donations rather than annual subscriptions. Special grants of a similar nature for a special purpose we should be prepared to make again at any time should the need arise, but in view of the small amount available in our budget for European schools generally and the urgent needs of other institutions, we do not feel justified in making such special grants to Kalimpong either for purposes of normal maintenance or for expansion. Let me explain exactly what the Government does at present for these Homes and what you may reasonably expect of it in the future. The total amount available in our budget to-day for European education is only eleven lakhs of rupees. This has to provide both for Orphanages like Entally Convent and Kalimpong, as well as for schools. In recent years we have given to the Orphanages rather more than their fair share of the total amount at our disposal. This year, for instance, Entally has had a special building grant of Rs. 61,000 and in the meantime the ordinary schools for the education of European and Anglo-Indian children are crying out for funds for their development and to enable them to give their teachers reasonable pay and prospects. I am sure you will understand that if in considering the problem of European and Anglo-Indian education as a whole we are obliged to make our special grants to Kalimpong only occasional and strictly based upon

special needs, this does not imply any lack of sympathy with, or appreciation of, the splendid work which is being carried on there.

In ordinary recurring grants we pay to Kalimpong about Rs. 46,000 annually. This year and next year we propose to pay these grants according to the Code instead of following the old system. The Homes will, I hope, benefit by this change to the extent of Rs. 10,000 or possibly more according to the number of children who can be regarded as qualifying for the free boarding grant. The relations of Government to the Homes, therefore, may be summed up as follows. We recognize and appreciate their great value. We contribute Rs. 46,000 annually towards their educational work. This will be increased to Rs. 56,000 this and next year. We have in the past made in addition special grants for special needs, and we shall in the future be prepared at any time to consider applications for special assistance of a similar kind.

I should like in conclusion to refer to the great contribution that this Committee, like its sister committees in London and Scotland, has rendered to the Homes during the past year. It is due to the generous co-operation of these committees and the loyal labours of their members that the Homes are able to deal so effectively with the vast problem that they have undertaken.

His Excellency's Speech at the Convocation of the Calcutta University, on 21st February 1925.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

For the second year in succession we meet in our Annual Convocation under the shadow of a great sorrow. The Vice-Chancellor has reminded us of those losses by the hand of death which we suffered in 1924, that year in which the University of Calcutta was, perhaps, more cruelly stricken by fate than in any preceding year of its history. To some of the long roll of Senators and University workers who passed away last year I have already paid my tribute. I have not yet within these walls expressed my sense of the loss which the University suffered through the death of our late Vice-Chancellor, following as it did so quickly upon the removal of that great bulwark of our University, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. As I said last year at the Convocation, when Sir Asutosh Mookerjee died, a feeling akin to consternation was created in our minds. In the midst of our sorrow and apprehension, however, we felt that though no one was capable of bringing to the administration of the University that unique combination of almost superhuman industry, knowledge, and intellectual grip which characterized Sir Asutosh, yet in Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu we had a great Bengali statesman and patriot who would, we hoped, be

able, in spite of his frail health, to steer us through the troubled waters that still lay ahead of us.

During the summer of last year Mr. Basu's long indisposition gave us cause to fear that the night was closing round his day, but we hoped against hope that he might be spared to guide the destinies of our University for a little longer.

Our hopes were doomed to tragic disappointment and he died on September 16th. During his brief Vice-Chancellorship Mr. Basu gave evidence that those qualities which he possessed in abundant measure—tact, clear vision, patience, industry and a grip of educational realities—would be placed unreservedly at the service of his University. The measure of his capacity is the measure of our loss. Though there was no truer Bengali patriot than Mr. Basu, yet his patriotism did not blind his eyes to the imperfections of national institutions. His wide experience, both of Indian and Western systems of education, enabled him to place his finger unerringly on those points of weakness in our University and school education which need reform, and no public man, Indian or Englishman, in Bengal was so eminently qualified for the task of making those adjustments, with the consent of his countrymen, which are necessary if our system is to adapt itself to the rapidly changing needs of the time. I have lost in Mr. Basu a great personal friend one for whom I had both affection and admiration. I join with you to-day in mourning one, who was a great statesman, and would, had he lived to complete his heroically accepted task,

have proved himself one of the greatest of the many distinguished Vice-Chancellors whom the University has known.

I have one further duty to perform before I pass on. There is one remark in the speech to which we have just listened from Sir Ewart Greaves which, I am sure, comes straight to us from the anvil of personal experience. In paying his tribute to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's work, the Vice-Chancellor has feelingly remarked that it is only when one comes in close contact with the work of the University that one realizes the stupendous burden which he bore for so many years. I am well aware of the almost insupportable burden of work which Sir Ewart Greaves has laid upon his back by accepting the office of the Vice-Chancellorship of this University. Work which would form a reasonable wholetime task for most men is cheerfully performed by him in addition to his ordinary day's work in the High Court, and I desire here to convey to him as Chancellor the grateful thanks of the whole University for which he sacrifices himself so unsparingly. Setting before himself the high standard of industry laid down by Sir Asutosh, he quickly grasped the multifarious problems of the University, and has at the same time won the confidence of his colleagues on the Syndicate and Senate. In your name, and on my own behalf, I thank him for the self-sacrificing public spirit, the industry and the sympathy which he has brought to our affairs.

The Vice-Chancellor has again reminded us, that one of the great questions facing us is the future

of that school of advanced studies which is somewhat inadequately named the Post-Graduate Department. Last year I said that the primary necessity was its stabilization. That is to say, we must examine and ascertain what measures are necessary to re-organize it, so far as it needs re-organization, and to plant its foundations firm and deep in the rock of financial stability. In pursuance of the suggestion which I made, a Committee has since been sitting, and I am well aware that its labours have been herculean. Like the Vice-Chancellor I must not try to anticipate the findings of that Committee. I have no idea what they will be. But whatever they may be, I should like to stress what appear to me to be the essential necessities of the position. *First*, all avoidable waste must be eliminated. *Secondly*, nothing must be allowed in any way to impair the importance of the Department as a centre of advanced teaching and research; *thirdly*, the colleges should be associated as much as possible in advanced work, not merely in the interest of economy, but in the interest of the intellectual life of the colleges themselves. It is no gain but a definite loss if, by being entirely divorced from any share in advanced University work, your associated colleges gradually become intellectually impoverished, so that their students for the B. A. degree cease to have the advantage of the stimulus which comes from contact with first-rate minds. *Lastly*, let me repeat the assurance which I gave you last year that Government will give you whatever financial assistance may be necessary to secure the permanence of this

important department of the University. We have made a tentative provision of two lakhs of rupees in this year's budget and as soon as your essential needs have been ascertained and agreed upon, we hope to be able to fix a suitable annual grant.

The Vice-Chancellor's reference to the Matriculation Examination has reminded us that the University takes not only post-graduate teaching, but almost all grades of education under its maternal charge. I am glad to know that the reduction of the age-limit to 15 is on the whole generally welcomed as a necessity, even if, perhaps, as a regrettable necessity. But I am even more glad to know that it is hoped in the next few months to raise the standard of the Matriculation Examination. This is an urgent need from all that I hear, and when this reform has been effected it may be possible still further to reduce the age-limit for the Matriculation Examination or even to abolish it altogether. The subject of the introduction of teaching and examination through the medium of the vernacular introduces another debatable subject, but we have the authority of the Sadler Commission for making at least some change in the present system, and I trust you will come to a decision which both Hindus and Moslems can accept without demur, so that Government may find it a simple matter to pass orders on your recommendations.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are faced with many urgent and difficult problems. Some of them the Vice-Chancellor and I have already mentioned: others such as the establishment of a Board of Secondary Education and the problem of medical

education, I shall not discuss on this occasion as the time is not yet ripe for any public announcement on either of them. The former subject has been much delayed by the political crisis which for the last six months has deprived me of the advice of any Ministers. It will have to be dealt with by the new Minister for Education as soon as he is appointed and I hope to be able to resume the conferences between the Government and the University authorities before I leave Calcutta for the hills. My desire as Chancellor is to identify myself with the interests of the University in these and in all other matters, and this assurance I can give you to-day that if as Governor I find it necessary to agree to any educational policy in the interest of those for whom this University is less directly responsible than the Government, you can rely upon me as your Chancellor to see that the interests of the University, whether financial or otherwise, are not made to suffer thereby. That is a definite pledge by which you can hold me bound during the remainder of my term of office, and in all the problems of University administration or reconstruction, I think our progress would be more rapid if you would look upon me as the champion of University interests in the event of any difference of opinion with the Government.

Let us, in the first place, try to discover the points on which we can all agree and from that common standpoint we shall be the better able to approach the points on which we differ. In one matter I imagine that we are all agreed. We all desire the uplift of Bengal through the spread of education. As to methods we may differ; our ideals

are one. I desire with you, for instance, the maintenance of a real centre of advanced teaching and research in Calcutta, because I know that so far from Bengal having too many educated people, it has not enough. Our education may not all of it be of the right kind; some of our standards may, perhaps, be too low. If I may quote a saying of Mr. Fisher, with whom, when he was Minister of Education, I was privileged to work before I left England, we too may sometimes have cause to say that "the wrong things are being taught by the wrong people in the wrong way." "But if so," asked Mr. Fisher, "who is responsible?" "The culprit," he said, "is the nation. It cannot be too urgently represented that the future of the children of the people, so far as it is affected by education, depends on the number of men and women in the community who can be found to insist on a high educational standard in their various localities."

These words were applied by Mr. Fisher to schools in England, but there is no doubt that in many of our schools also the wrong things are being taught by the wrong people in the wrong way. But admitting this, what is the remedy? We must bring those of our students who are to be teachers into contact with the highest possible intellectual stimulus and under the best possible of all those other agencies which contribute to the making, intellectually, physically and spiritually, of the good citizen. So long as your Post-Graduate Department is doing this—it is preparing men capable of raising the present low standard of the schools, and is thereby contributing to the making of that Bengali nation which is on the anvil to-day.

If you can in Calcutta create and maintain a real centre of original thought and culture, its effect on the schools and so on the nation at large must eventually be felt. So without entering into details, as to forms and methods which the Committee is at present considering, I repeat that in some form or other your Post-Graduate Department is a civic and national necessity; for from it will or should emanate those currents of thought which will in time break down the barriers of prejudice and ignorance which at present hamper the nation's development. In particular I would express a hope that the band of writers and thinkers whom you are gathering in this home of learning may produce in their pupils a passionate desire to carry the torch of knowledge to every village in Bengal. When every young man who leaves your doors with the hall-mark of your stamp upon him also bears upon his heart the imprint of a burning passion to extend the light of knowledge to those millions of men and women who make up the bulk of the Bengali nation—the masses—then you will know that you are doing a work for Bengal that is of more value to it than the production of many volumes of research. For gradually you will produce that organized public opinion which must be behind any Minister of Education who is bold enough to tackle the problem of school education, both primary and secondary, and to face its financial implications. Just as in the words of the Sadler Commission's report "the main economic purpose of the co-operative movement is to democratise credit, one chief aim of the educational institutions of India should be to democratise

knowledge." The cure for most of your ills is education, education and more education, not for the few, but for the many. Three decades ago, the Commissioners on Technical Education went from England to Switzerland. A Swiss witness said to them: "We know that the mass of our people must be poor; we are determined that they shall not also be ignorant." As a result of that spirit the Swiss in waging war against ignorance, put poverty to flight as well, and so it might well be in Bengal. Let your University and especially its Post-Graduate Department be a centre of thought and culture from whence can flow those continuing currents which will democratise knowledge, and diffuse a steadier judgment and a better-informed opinion through the whole body of the community. Until the ultimate urge of its stimulus reaches right down through the secondary schools to the primary schools and the villages, you are not fulfilling your function in that full measure which the nation expects of you. Therefore, I say, whatever you teach your young men or your advanced students of research, send them out filled with an enlightened patriotism, with a healthy impatience of ignorance and prepared to wage a holy war against illiteracy until this reproach on the fair name of Bengal is for ever removed.

With you all, and especially with the young men and women who are to-day receiving those parchments which testify to their intellectual attainments, I would like to leave this suggestion of a holy war against ignorance, wherever it is found. Culture loses half its savour, if it is enjoyed in the midst of ignorance. It is idle to dream of building

the nationhood of Bengal upon a foundation of widespread illiteracy. Educate the people and other problems will solve themselves. Some of you, perhaps, know that wonderful speech of Mr. Gladstone at Glasgow in 1892. In a striking *simile* he told of that ancient legend of the two Lacedaemonian heroes called Castor and Pollux—

“honoured in their life and more honoured in their death, when a star was called after them. Upon that star the fond imagination of the people fastened lively conceptions, for they thought that when a ship at sea was caught in a storm, when dread began to possess the minds of the crew, and peril thickened around them, and alarm was giving place to despair, that if then in the high heavens this star appeared, gradually and gently, but effectually, the clouds disappeared, the winds abated, the towering billows fell down to the surface of the deep, calm came where there had been uproar, safety came where there had been danger, and under the beneficent influence of this heavenly body the terrified and despairing crew came safely to port.”

Ladies and gentlemen, can we not somehow, in the midst of the troubles which surround us, find our Castor and Pollux—our day star of hope—in this sacred nation-building task of education? When we differ and are about to despair of the possibility of progress at all, let us gaze up at that star and remind ourselves that our aims are one, that in the prosperity and happiness of the people

of this nation is the ultimate and final object of all our common efforts. For the goal to which we all aspire is the good of Bengal, and with that star to guide us we may safely set sail into the unknown seas of the future, assured that should we ever be depressed by forebodings or sunk in despair, one glance at that star will remind us of our common ideal, and bring us safely into the harbour of tranquility, of friendly associated effort, and of triumphant co-operative achievement.

***His 'Excellency's Speech at the Prize-
Distribution of the Barrackpore Park
School, on 22nd February 1925.***

MR. HEADMASTER AND GENTLEMEN,

Lady Lytton and I are delighted to meet once, more the staff and students of our Barrackpore School. Her Excellency was very disappointed at having to miss meeting you last year and she has asked me to tell you how pleased she is that you have arranged your prize-giving this year on a date when she could be present. As she is leaving for England this week, this was the very last day on which it would have been possible for her to be here.

I need not repeat what I have said in former years about the interest which we both take in this school. That, I hope, is known to you by now. At first my interest was in the nature of a legacy—I told you that I was interested in the school because of its important history and because for nearly 90 years a long succession of Viceroys and the last two Governors of Bengal had assisted at your prize-givings, and I was glad to carry on the tradition. But now after meeting you here for three years in succession, after hearing the good reports of your progress and listening with interest and admiration to your excellent recitations, the character of my interest has changed, and I feel now a personal—almost a proprietary interest in the school. It is, therefore, not merely because Lord Auckland founded this school and his sister, Miss Eden, wrote affectionately about the “Little Barrackporeans,” not merely because my father and mother once stood where I am now standing and

listened to the recitations of your predecessors in the school, while I slept in my perambulator under those trees; it is not merely because the Governors of Bengal have succeeded to the Viceroys of India in enjoying the beauties of Barrackpore that we welcome you here to-day, but because we feel that we are now well acquainted with you and are meeting old friends.

I may remind the Headmaster that on two previous occasions when I addressed the members of the school I dealt with something which seemed either to him or to me to constitute a menace to the interests or welfare of the school, and I was at pains to set your fears at rest and to assure you that they were groundless. The first year, you will remember, the Headmaster told me how fearful he and his staff were of the retrenchment with which I and my Government were at that time occupied. The Headmaster told me of his anxiety lest in cutting down our expenditure we might not have money enough to support your school and others as efficiently as they had been supported in the past. I told you in reply that you need have no fears, because I and my Government were retrenching not in order to spend less but in order that we might have more to spend upon education. I think I was able to assure you last year that you had not suffered from retrenchment, and that fear was dispelled. Last year I myself raised the bogey and I told you that I was at that time myself very anxious lest the Legislative Council in a destructive mood might provide insufficient funds for education. That danger also has passed. I am quite satisfied that they have not only no intention

of starving education in Bengal, but they know now that it is not in my power to restore any money which they may refuse. So, these two menaces to the interests of the school have disappeared. In addressing you this year I have asked myself whether any cloud was visible on the horizon, any further trouble ahead. There is one thing that I want to mention, because, if it is not explained, it may, perhaps, appear to be a menace to the interests not of the Headmaster and the staff, but of the students of the school. I was on Saturday attending the Convocation of the University of Calcutta whose degrees the students of this school no doubt will aspire some day to obtain or, at any rate, whose Matriculation Examination they hope some day to pass. I was assured by the Vice-Chancellor that there was a prospect that before long the standard of the Matriculation would be raised and I expressed great satisfaction at the prospect. I can well imagine that the students who are preparing to pass this examination may take a different view of the prospect; but I want to assure you that as in previous years in this matter you have nothing to fear. You would be very impatient if in your sports you were obliged to jump over a low bar when you could easily clear a higher one. So in your work I am perfectly satisfied from the very encouraging report of the school, which the Headmaster has just read, that the students will have no difficulty in taking as easily the higher standard as they did in the past the lower standard and will derive more satisfaction from taking it. I am particularly interested in the figures of the percentage of attendance which the Headmaster

read out in his report. Thirty-six boys have never missed a day and the attendance percentage of the whole school is 89—that is a very remarkable achievement. Shakespeare speaks of the—

“Whining schoolboy with his satchel
And smiling morning face, creeping like snail
Unwillingly to school.”

You have satchels and smiling morning faces no doubt, but you do not, it seems, “creep unwillingly to school.” It is evident from the figures I have just quoted that you and your parents realize and appreciate the value of your school. This is no doubt due to the fact that all the different aspects of school life receive their due attention. In addition to your class work which, if you are like other boys all the world over, you probably value the least, the Headmaster's report speaks of games and athletics, physical exercises, debates, excursions, the school magazine, etc. In all these various activities you will be able to learn the value of fellowship and common membership in a community which will fit you for citizenship in a wider community hereafter.

I congratulate the school authorities on the success of Mr. S. K. Haldar. I have no doubt that he is as proud of his school as the boys are proud of him. I hope that his example will be followed by other students of the school, so that at a future prize-giving my successor may have the pleasure of hearing of your successes as ex-students of the school. In conclusion, I hope the school may pursue uninterrupted the successful course it has followed in the past, and I pray that upon each one of you the star of success may shine brightly throughout your lives.

His Excellency's Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Church Education League, on 23rd February 1925.

GENTLEMEN,

A few days ago when I was addressing a meeting of the Calcutta League of Women Workers in Government House I took occasion to remark that in England a very large proportion of the social and political activities of the people was carried on by unofficial organizations and owed nothing to Government. I went on to explain the kind of movements which could not be successfully conducted by a Government and which required for their success the missionary spirit of enthusiastic idealists. From a much-abbreviated report of this speech I have been misrepresented in certain quarters and the statement has been attributed to me that there was no social service in India. Not only did I not say anything so foolish, but I was careful to pay a tribute to many examples of valuable social service which I had come across in India, and I have no doubt there are many other organizations with which I am not personally acquainted. What I did say was that owing to the habit in this country of expecting the Government to do everything, many of those activities which Government cannot undertake remained undone—the needs which Government cannot supply remained unmet—that is not an expression of opinion, but a statement of fact. Now the work with which the Church Education League is occupied, is just

one of those objects which no Government can achieve, and if it were not for the existence of the League, it would not be done at all. Its ideal in the words of your report for 1923 is "to endeavour to provide for the children of the Anglican Church the means whereby they may be grounded in the great principles of the Christian faith and practice." Now that is an ideal which requires enthusiasm and faith almost to the point of passion to achieve.

At the Convocation last Saturday I appealed to the graduates of Calcutta University to undertake a Holy War upon ignorance and to carry the torch of learning into every village of Bengal. The members of this League, who have taken charge of the spiritual welfare of those children who belong to the Anglican Church, must also play their part in that crusade. I hope that the Government of Bengal, however constituted, may always be relied upon to provide schools for the teaching of children of all communities, but those who want to add to the advantages of a purely secular education the inspiration of a particular religious faith must shoulder that responsibility themselves and provide the funds necessary to its fulfilment. Mr. Fisher, who was recently Minister of Education in England and is now Warden of New College, Oxford, once said—"We assume that education is one of the good things of life which should be more widely shared than has hitherto been the case among the children and young persons of the country. We assume the education should be the education of the whole man spiritually, intellectually, and physically."

When speaking at St. Xavier's College last December, I pointed out that boys go to school and thence to college to obtain the requisite education and training for mind, character and body, and I was able to congratulate that college on the success with which they fulfilled those three requirements.

It is characteristic of missionary schools in Bengal, which I have everywhere noticed, that they view the three aspects in their proper perspective and this is the secret of their great success. The Church Education League pays special attention to the moral and spiritual elements of the programme which Mr. Fisher enunciated. It aims at ensuring that the spiritual needs of those children who are the object of its attention shall receive adequate attention. In this effort it is entitled to look for the support of all members of the Anglican Church. The report for the year 1924 speaks of the difficult problem of securing an adequate annual income and of the hard struggle to make their means sufficient for their ends. But, gentlemen, this problem should not be so difficult of solution. We are told in the report that one rupee a month from each church member in the Diocese would enable the League to relieve all church schools of financial worry. That is not a large sum—four annas a week—think of it four annas a week, 12 rupees a year from every church member would ensure the financial stability of every church school. If that sum is not forthcoming, it is because churchmen don't care to support their schools, and if they don't care it can only be because they don't know either of their existence or their needs. I hope this meeting will help to make these facts better known.

I would impress on Europeans and especially members of the Church of England their duty towards the schools of the city. "The child is father of the man" and no charity is so fruitful or such a good investment for the future of the country as one that assists the education of the young, especially if the education is one which is inspired by a spiritual ideal. The experience of every generation adds to the weight of evidence that it is ideas rather than force which rule the world. Without some ideal, as the guiding principle of life, no real progress is ever made, no real success achieved. Of all the books which I have read in the last two years, the one that has interested me the most I think is the "Life and Letters of Walter Page" and those letters bring out very clearly the ideal which guided him throughout his life and which explains the attitude which he took up towards the politics both internal and foreign of his own country. The most striking characteristic of Walter Page's nature was his sympathy with, and interest in, the masses, and the ideal which he set himself was the improvement and development of the average man, or, as he graphically described him, "the forgotten man." The only acceptable measure of any civilization, he believed, was the extent to which it improved the condition of the common citizen, the real test of a satisfactory state of society was the extent to which it enables the masses to participate in education, in the necessities and comforts of existence, in the right of self-evolution and self-expression and in that "equality of opportunity which was the basis of

social progress." This explains his attitude during the great war, this explains also the enthusiasm with which he studied the problem of hook-worm in his own Southern States, the energy which he devoted to the campaign for its eradication and the insistence with which he pleaded for the sympathy and support of the wealthy and influential. He was largely instrumental in initiating a movement, which had the most far-reaching results in the moral and material development of the people of the Southern States of America, a movement from which other countries afflicted with hook-worm may also ultimately derive benefit. He felt that with the liberation of the masses from the enervating parasite that consumed all their energies, a new generation would result. His attitude towards illiteracy was similarly explained. Of the several manifestations of democracy, as he interpreted it, he placed first in order of importance Education, and it was probably his enthusiasm for his mission of educating "The Forgotten Man" and improving the fundamental opportunities and the every-day social advantages of the masses that made him emerge from the editor and writer into public life. May I remind you of some words which I quoted at Dacca last year which embody his creed of democracy. "I believe," he said, "that by the right training of men we add to the wealth of the world. All wealth is the creation of man and he creates it only in proportion to the trained uses of the community; and the more men we train, the more wealth everyone may create."

Mr. Fisher emphasized this when he said "The capital of a country does not consist in cash or

paper, but in the brains and bodies of the people who inhabit it." Yes, and I would add in the souls of the people also. The Church Education League lays special emphasis on the education of the spiritual man, which must share with the other two partners the attention of the true education-
 alist. In helping the Church Education League, you will be helping to build up the soul as well as the brains and bodies of your countrymen in India and thus filling them in their turn with a desire to improve the lot of their generation. Some of you may have heard a preacher in the Cathedral quite recently state that the failure of the world's successive civilizations was due to the fact that the progress of the spirit had not kept pace with that of the mind. Let us see to it that so far as lies in our power we may remove this reproach. We have here a means of ensuring that the spirit, the soul of future generations, in one section of the community at least shall receive such attention as will enable it to keep pace with the intellect. The Church Education League not only makes an appeal, it offers us an opportunity. Let us take what is offered and give what is asked, and by so doing we shall be doubly blessed.

*Informal Address presented by the Commissioners,
Asansol Municipality, on 25th February 1925.*

We, the Commissioners of the Asansol Municipality, gladly avail ourselves of this unique opportunity to extend to Your Excellency and the Countess of Lytton a most cordial and loyal welcome to Asansol.

2. This is the first occasion that Asansol has been honoured by a visit from a Governor of Bengal, and the inhabitants both of the municipality and of the surrounding district greatly appreciate this signal honour.

3. The last occasion on which Asansol was visited by the Head of the Executive was during the Lieutenant-Governorship of Sir Edward Baker and during the intervening period both Asansol and its subdivision have increased greatly in prosperity through the development of the coal-fields and the founding of many industrial undertakings, so that Asansol has now become the centre of one of the most important industrial areas in the whole of India. For this reason the inhabitants of the subdivision look forward with hope to the conversion of the subdivision in the near future into a district, and we trust that Your Excellency's visit will impress upon Your Excellency the appropriateness of such a hope.

4. With Your Excellency's kind permission, we desire to bring to Your Excellency's notice a few of the many needs and wants of the town of Asansol which, owing to the limited resources at

our disposal, we are unable to meet without the help of Your Excellency's benevolent Government.

5. For some time past we have been endeavouring to secure a system of piped water-supply for the town, but without success owing to want of funds. The East Indian Railway, we understand, has at present under preparation a scheme for enlarging its existing water-supply within the railway settlement, and we earnestly pray that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to secure that the system may be extended to the non-railway area of the municipality on the payment of a contribution compatible with our resources. Your Excellency may also be pleased to recommend to the Railway Administration the desirability of supplying electric current for lighting certain dangerous cross-ways within this municipality.

6. A scheme for the introduction of free primary education within municipal limits and the substitution of three main primary schools with well-trained staffs in place of the existing scattered institutions has recently received the attention of the Commissioners.

The scheme depends for its fruition upon the co-operation of the East Indian Railway authorities whose views on the proposal are now awaited by the Commissioners.

7. The East Indian Railway Aided High School, the only high English school for Indian boys in Asansol, is unable to meet the daily increasing demand for secondary education, and the establishment of another high school in the town is eagerly

looked for, and would be hailed with great gratitude not only by the people of this town, but also by those of the surrounding rural areas which depend on the town for the provision of secondary education. We pray, therefore, that it may please Your Excellency to have a Government school, established in the near future in this important industrial centre.

8. The Commissioners look forward eagerly to the early re-enactment of the Bengal Municipal Act which will be a fitting memorial of Your Excellency's administration of the municipal government of this province.

9. In conclusion, we fervently pray that Your Excellencies' stay here may be an enjoyable and interesting one, and that both Your Excellency and the Countess of Lytton will retain the happiest and pleasantest memories of your visit to Asansol.

His Excellency's Reply to the Informal Address presented by the Asansol Municipality, on 25th February 1925.

MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONERS AND GENTLEMEN,

I thank you on behalf of Lady Lytton and myself for the warm welcome you have given us to this industrial centre of Bengal. My official tours have already taken me all over the agricultural areas of the province. I have visited the headquarters of every district. I have seen the wealth produced by the paddy fields, the jute districts and the tea gardens of Bengal; I have seen the cultivation of the tea bush and its manufacture into tea; I have witnessed all the various processes of jute from the sowing of the seed to the final stage which it reaches in the mills which line the banks of the Hooghly; but I have not as yet been privileged to see the wealth created and produced by purely industrial undertakings. I have, therefore, been looking forward to this visit with peculiar interest as it will teach me something of the industrial life of the province and thus complete my experience. I hope to learn from this visit, hurried though it must necessarily be, something of the extent and potentialities of the industrial activities which are to be found here. A visit to Asansol has also a special interest for the Governor of this Presidency, as it is here that coming out from England to take up his charge he first enters his province. Asansol is thus the gateway of his official life, and I will remember the day—now three years ago—when my Private

Secretary joined my train and I was informed that I had entered the Province of Bengal.

I was surprised to hear that coal was first discovered here as long ago as in 1775, but I understand that the industry did not begin to flourish and expand to any great extent until the middle of the last century, when its prosperity was assured. In fact a hundred years ago the whole of the tract was a wilderness of forest and jungle with but a few small clearings; now it is one of the busiest centres of industry in India and its coal and iron fields are filled with a population of busy miners and artisans, all contributing very extensively to the wealth of the country.

The people of this subdivision are justly proud of their romantic history, of the legacy which they have inherited and of the contributions which they are making towards its enrichment. Your aspirations for the development of the town and its neighbourhood, as indicated in the informal address, which you, gentlemen, have been good enough to present to me, are expression of that legitimate pride.

With your anxiety to introduce amenities and conveniences necessitated by the growing importance of the place I have every sympathy.

The provision of an up-to-date water-supply is clearly an amenity which you are justified in aspiring to, but I understand that you doubt whether you can afford to pay the contribution which the railway would demand from you if you were to share in their scheme of supply, and that the scheme which was prepared five years ago for a separate supply is also beyond your means.

Some reduction of the cost is, therefore, necessary to bring either of these alternatives within your means. Ultimately you will have to choose between them, but it would be well for you in the first instance to explore each of them a little further. If you will formulate definite proposals and inform the railway authorities exactly how much water you will require and what is the maximum you can contribute to the necessary extension of their waterworks, to their annual maintenance, and to the distribution of water, you will then be able to ascertain whether or not such co-operation is a matter of practical politics. At the same time you might explore the possibility of cheapening sufficiently the scheme of 1920 to enable you to finance it with the co-operation of Government, the local bodies and the persons who will benefit.

You refer to the proposals for the spread of education in the town. You tell me that a scheme for the introduction of free primary education within the municipality has recently received the attention of the Commissioners. I am delighted to hear this, and I can promise you our support and co-operation when you submit a definite scheme with the assurance of a local contribution to meet half the expenditure, capital and recurring.

You also ask for the establishment of another high English school in Asansol. If this can be shown to be really necessary, the Education Department will examine your proposal with a view to making you a grant-in-aid, but I understand that the present high English school, which, I hope, to visit to-morrow, is one of the very best

in the province and I would ask you to consider whether your needs cannot be met by developing and extending this school rather than by building a second one. With regard to the existing high school, I am glad to be able to announce that Government have found it possible to pay a capital grant of Rs. 1,829, which is half the cost, for the improvement of the accommodation at the school this year, and orders will issue immediately. I understand also that the Secretary of the school has drawn up a scheme for increasing the pay and prospects of the teachers by means of an increase in the subscriptions from the railway, in the fees and in the Government grant. With regard to this also I can inform you that provided the other two increases have been arranged and our budget is passed by the Council next month, the Department will increase their grant next year so as to enable this scheme to be carried out.

You also ask me to recommend to the railway administration the desirability of supplying electric current for lighting the dangerous cross-ways in the municipality. I think it would be desirable for you to discuss the matter with the railway authorities yourselves, but this is a matter primarily for the Government of India, who have recently laid down a general principle that a railway's plant should not be enlarged for purposes other than the business of the undertaking and that, in any case, if electricity were supplied in this way, it should be charged for at commercial rates. Unless, therefore, you can convince the railway administration that the proposal is a matter in which they are directly interested and will not

involve an enlargement of their plant, I am afraid you must wait until you can remedy the want yourselves.

The introduction of the Bengal Municipal Bill has been held in abeyance owing to the absence of Ministers. So long as there are no Ministers there can obviously be no legislation regarding transferred subjects as there is no one to take charge of such Bills. We have a Bill in draft however, and I hope that the Legislative Council will soon restore the conditions in which it can be introduced. The prospect at the moment looks a little brighter, but the chance of a stable Ministry depends upon the extent to which the 75 members who voted in favour of some Ministers are prepared to subordinate personal considerations and agree to support particular individuals. If the Council provides salaries for Ministers when the budget comes up for discussion next month, it will be for the Minister, whom I shall have appointed to take charge of the portfolio of Local Self-Government, to consider whether he desires to re-introduce and proceed with the Municipal Bill.

I gather that perhaps the ambition which you are most anxious to see gratified is the conversion of this subdivision into a separate district—a request that you base on the development of the coal-fields and other industrial undertakings and the increase of business arising therefrom; much of which business in present conditions has to be transacted at a distance in Burdwan instead of on the spot at Asansol. I gather also that civic and local pride, which I certainly sympathize with and welcome is also partly responsible for the demand.

This is an important matter which deserves more time than I am able to devote to-day to its consideration, but I am afraid I cannot hold out any hope of this change being effected within the near future. Certain administrative arrangements have already been made towards securing the objects you have in view, as for instance, the posting of a Subordinate Judge and an independent Additional Superintendent of Police at Asansol and the enjoyment of partial independence by the Local Board. I recognize that these will not satisfy your requirements if the district continues to grow. But it is all that we can do at present in the direction which you desire. There are other districts in greater need of partition than Burdwan and our experience in trying to carry out the partition of Mymensingh does not encourage us to make another attempt here until we are satisfied that the Legislative Council would welcome such a step.

Well, gentlemen, I think I have replied at as great a length as you would expect, knowing that I have two very full days ahead of me. I am anxious to see as much as I possibly can while I am here of the industrial life of this part of the province, the working of the coal mines and the industries which depend so intimately on those mines. I am anxious to see the wealth which is created and produced for the country, and the conditions under which labour lives and works. I have arranged my programme so that I can see the various stages and phases of this industrial life in every aspect and have, therefore, included in it besides visits to the coal mines and iron works which will enable me to see the most up-to-date

methods at work, an inspection of the activities of the Mines Board of Health. I am particularly anxious to learn more about this interesting experiment. I have heard much of the results which the Board has achieved. I want to know more of the methods which it has adopted to achieve those results as I hope to find that similar methods applied in other parts of the province would produce an equally satisfactory improvement in the public health of Bengal.

I will conclude by thanking you for the warmth of the welcome you have extended to us and by expressing a hope for the continued prosperity of this subdivision and the industrial life which it represents.

***His Excellency's Speech at the Prize
distribution of the La Martinière, on
4th March 1925.***

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am delighted to have an opportunity of making the personal acquaintance of the staff and students of a school in which I have taken a deep—and indeed a very anxious—interest ever since I came to Bengal, and I am still more pleased to be able to meet you on an occasion when the cause of my anxiety and yours has been removed and we can look forward together to a period of increased prosperity.

The satisfactory reports which Miss Coutts and Mr. Holme have read to us make it clear that in the La Martinière Schools, Calcutta has two educational institutions which aim at the best public school traditions and in many respects realize their aim.

These reports contain not a few cheering messages; in the first place, the results of outside examinations appear to have been extremely good in both schools and I wish particularly to congratulate Eric Brittar on his success in the Higher School Certificate Examination and on the award of the Founder's Gold Medal: I am glad to hear that he has been awarded a State Scholarship and is now continuing his studies at the London School of Economics, and I trust that he will, in future years, bring added lustre to the name of La Martinière.

The account of the out-of-class activities of the school is equally satisfactory and I congratulate the students on their athletic successes. The Principal is right, I think, in saying that it is better to be beaten by a superior team than to defeat without effort a markedly inferior one. But I can well imagine how discouraging it must be to have to contend always with impossible odds. An occasional success, if hardly won, is a great encouragement in life, and I should be sorry if such opportunities were denied to you altogether. I think the school athletic teams deserve the highest praise for the pluck and perseverance with which they have continually met other teams superior in weight, age and experience, and also on the success with which they have at last been rewarded.

I should like also to congratulate the staff of the school who have had a rather similar experience. Like the athletic teams they have had to contend with superior odds. The burden of debt has been upon them and they have been haunted by the shadow of dismissal due to the necessity of retrenchment. They, too, have shown great courage and patience. They have worked with sympathy and loyalty under most trying and difficult circumstances. They, too, I hope, will now have their reward. The clouds are passing away. The sunshine of hope is breaking through, and a vista of bright prosperity is opening before us.

All this is due to the splendid generosity of an old student of the school.

It is very right that your founder's memory should be commemorated each year, so that succeeding generations of boys and girls may not forget the debt which they owe to him. "Let us now praise famous men," says Ecclesiasticus, and the founder of such schools, as these, should be famous in the eyes of those who benefit by his generosity and charity. But in future you will have, I think, to preserve the memory of Paul Chater along with that of Claude Martin; you will need to remember with gratitude your saviour as well as your founder.

You will have to think out how you can best keep alive in the minds of future generations of boys and girls the memory of Sir Paul Chater, but I venture to make a suggestion which will, I think, prove more popular with the students than with the staff of the school. When I was at school we used to have a whole holiday on every Saint's day and my knowledge of the saints in the Christian calendar is, I am afraid, solely derived from this excellent custom. I have never had any opinion of a saint who was not a holiday saint. I suggest, therefore, that you should have an annual holiday on Chater day. And every year upon that day let the students of the school be told of what they owe to the generosity of Sir Paul Chater so that "from this day to the ending of the world" his name shall be by succeeding generations "freshly remembered."

There are one or two things which I want to say about this new endowment. The first is concerning the attitude of the Government. Sir

Paul's donation came, as you know, at a very critical hour in the school's financial history. It was so critical that Government last year gave you, in addition to your ordinary grants, a special grant of Rs. 30,000 as a non-recurring donation for one year. Had your position been equally desperate this year, Government would have done what was essential again, though it would have called upon the Governors to take whatever steps might have been necessary, as soon as possible, to stabilise matters, however ruthless the retrenchment involved. Fortunately this did not become necessary, and Sir Paul Chater has done for you permanently what Government, with the many claims upon it from other schools, could only have done temporarily. This must not be taken to mean that because of this free gift, Government is going to withdraw or reduce its regular support. Government tries, like Providence, to help those who help themselves and we are not going back on this principle. Therefore, though there is now no necessity for any special, emergency grant from Government to tide you over a crisis you are entitled to expect for your normal development, a full share of any money which, as our own financial position improves, we may be able to devote to new recurring grants to schools.

The second thing I want to say relates to the attitude of the European community in Calcutta. I trust that Sir Paul Chater's donation will not be made an excuse by any of your present supporters to discontinue their subscriptions. The school is still in great need and magnificent, as is Sir Paul Chater's generosity, it does not by itself provide

a sufficient income to cover even existing expenditure, to say nothing of any expansion. There is a great deal still to be done, as the reports to which we have listened show. For instance, we shall have to face the problem of rebuilding the Girls' School; it is true that the difficulty has been temporarily alleviated by the lease of a neighbouring house, but this cannot be a permanent arrangement, and it is not economical, and there is a fear that if donations sufficient for rebuilding the school on its present site cannot be obtained, we may even have to contemplate selling the site and moving to the suburbs.

While we acknowledge our debt of gratitude to those to whose generosity we owe the foundation and the financial stability of La Martinière, it is not without some feelings of shame that we, Englishmen and Scotsmen of Bengal, have to confess that Calcutta's leading public school for English and Anglo-Indian boys and girls owes its conception to a Frenchman and its financial stability to one who, though a distinguished citizen of the British Empire, does not now belong to our city or our province. It reminds us, the second city of the Empire, too acutely of duties left unperformed. A letter received recently in Calcutta from a resident in 'Hong-Kong, says with a certain air of superiority, which is not altogether pleasant to a Calcutta man. "It is rather interesting that Calcutta should have to come to Hong-Kong for the support of its schools." Let us not forget that La Martinière School is a Calcutta institution and that its maintenance is a Calcutta obligation. We are not without our prosperous

merchant princes—English-Scotch, Armenian and Indian. I trust that they will be stimulated by Sir Paul Chater's example to remember their obligation to provide for the education of their own boys and girls.

• It may be that this timely help for the school comes from Hong-Kong, but its real significance lies in the fact that it comes from an old La Martinière boy. That is something of which the school is entitled to be proud. It shows how great an impression the school can make upon its pupils, what affection and what pride it can inspire. In conclusion, therefore, I would ask the boys and girls, who are students here to-day, to take this lesson to heart. Do not forget what your school has done for you and resolve that you in your turn will do something for your school. It may not be in the power of many of you to endow it with money on such a scale as Sir Paul Chater has done, but each one of you can do something to repay hereafter the benefits which you are receiving to-day. See to it that wherever you go and whatever you do you may prove yourselves worthy of the school in which you have been trained. I see by the programme that it is your custom to express the sentiment "*Vive La Martinière.*" When you use these words accompany them with a resolution in your hearts that La Martinière shall live in you and through you.

His Excellency's Address at the Convocation of Dacca University, on 6th March 1925.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR AND GENTLEMEN,

The University of Dacca meets to-day in its fourth Convocation, and I congratulate you on another year of vigorous growth. The satisfactory record of good work contained in your annual report for 1923-24 is proof that whatever the ultimate aim of each one of you for this your University may be, upon one thing at least you are all resolved. And that resolution is this, that while holding aloft in this outlying corner of India the torch of learning, and keeping it burning as brightly as in any other part of this vast Empire, Dacca shall stand as a continual reminder that man does not live by learning alone, but is a triple unity of mind and body and spirit, each one of which needs continual sustenance.

Let me say something about these three aspects in turn.

The long list of published works contained in the report, and the proceedings of the learned societies which exist within the University, show that you are resolved that your intellectual life shall reach the highest standards.

In this connection, too, I must congratulate you upon the remarkable statistics with regard to the use of the library in your University. One of the criticisms of the Sadler Commission was that in the colleges of the University of Calcutta students of

University courses read little more than their textbooks and did not always read these. For a wide study of their subjects and for all other purposes the college libraries, they pointed out, remained practically unused. Now that is a criticism which cannot be made against Dacca University. Your last report shows remarkable figures: 33,982 books were borrowed from the library. Your total number of books is 34,755. For a University so small as yours these are striking figures. Carlyle once said that our education "depends on what we read, after all manner of professors have done their best for us." In this branch of education, the University is only carrying on the work of your first infant school, it is still teaching you though in a different sense to read, so that you can learn for yourselves. The taunt was first made, I think, by Carlyle, but has been repeated more recently by Mr. H. G. Wells, that "the University which would completely take in that great new fact of the existence of printed books, has not yet come into existence." In so far as that reproach is deserved and our colleges and universities fail to teach their students to use a library, then they do their work even less efficiently than within its scope the merest primary or middle school. I am glad to know that Dacca University has travelled so far in so short a time from the miserable standards which the Sadler Commission criticised, and has taught her students to value the printed books.

I have previously regretted, and must again express my regret, that you have lost your Professorship of Sanskrit. The lakh of rupees for which I appealed to endow the Chair has not yet been

obtained. Raja Janaki Nath Roy, of Bhagyakul, has contributed Rs. 5,000, and Rai Sahib Gour Nitai Sankanidhi, Rs. 7,500. These are both generous donations for which I am very grateful, but together they do not even make up one-eighth of the amount required. I trust that others will be found to supplement their gifts. Surely the wealthy Hindus of Bengal will see to it that Dacca University does not remain without a Chair in their great classical language.

I am glad to know that your series of Popular Lectures have been a success. They are a valuable feature of your work. I congratulate you on the honour done to Professor Mazumdar, and through him to you, by his selection as President of the Section of History and Archæology at the Triennial Oriental Congress held in Madras. I was also glad to learn that Professor Ghose had been appointed President of the Chemistry Section at the Benares Congress. It is evident that Dacca is maintaining its reputation among the Universities of India. This is also evidenced by the prominent part taken by your representatives and especially by your Vice-Chancellor, at the Universities Congress at Simla. I hope that the deliberations of that Congress will result in benefit to all the Indian Universities, and to Dacca in particular.

So much for the 'purely intellectual activities of the University. I pass now to the second of those three needs of the complete man which it should be the business of a University to provide. I mean the needs of the body. The reference to athletics in the reports of the Halls, especially that

sentence in one of them which says that the students "have created a fine record of true sportsmanship," shows that you are not neglecting that aspect of University life, which, though in many Western Universities it tends to assume undue prominence, cannot be neglected by any University without loss to its students. Last August I had the pleasure of seeing the University Football Team win a very well-contested match with the Victoria Sports Club, and of presenting to them the Ronaldshay Shield. I am delighted to learn that the cricket team has also won the Sen and Sen Cup. I rejoice at the statement in another report that games and the regular college life have contributed to an improvement in the health of the students. It is clear that in this respect, as in others, you are teaching your young men how to live a fresh and varied life, regulated on wise principles.

The third need—that of the spirit—is measured rather by what you give than by what you receive and that leads me to say something under this head about the opportunities for service which the University provides. All healthy-minded young men, at a certain stage of their lives, are inspired by a burning desire to devote themselves to great and noble causes; and unless it receives a natural outlet and is directed into beneficial directions, this impulse is certain to be exploited by mischief-makers. In those social service organizations, the members of which so kindly came and explained their work to me last year, you are wisely directing this impulse towards the uplift of the degraded and

the enlightenment of the ignorant. I quote from one of the reports :—

“The Social Service Section of the Hall has done splendid work. They carried on their work at the schools they have established at Kajirbagh with success. In addition to this, they have organized lantern lectures on sanitation for the villages, with the kind assistance of the Health Officers of the District Board and Municipality. They also interested themselves in removing the wants of the people in respect of water-supply, and have succeeded in interesting the Chairman of the Local Board, who has undertaken to sink a well in the village.”

The young men who are doing work of the kind referred to in this and the other reports are learning the lessons of the highest patriotism, which is to serve, and laying the firmest foundations on which to build a nation, which is self-reliance. In the literature of all countries in the past to die for one's country has been represented as the highest patriotism, but there is a higher which has yet to be learnt and that is to live for one's country. To give health and happiness and life to others may be both more difficult and more honourable than to surrender one's own. A nation cannot be composed exclusively of leaders, and leaders without followers can accomplish nothing. The practical application of this obvious truth must be learnt at school and college if it is to be learnt at all. What India needs above all to-day is a widespread knowledge of what the nation needs for its health and happiness and a plentiful supply of men competent to

minister to those needs without waiting for direction from above. The work of social service, which is being so earnestly studied and practised in this University, affords the best possible indication that Dacca is going to make a valuable contribution to the solution of the social and economic difficulties of the country. Since I had the pleasure of conferring with the members of your organizations last year, I have myself become more intimately acquainted with two valuable movements which are having a most far-reaching effect upon the public health of the districts in which they operate. The first is the admirable work of the Anti-malarial Co-operative Health Societies organized throughout the province under the inspiration and direction of Rai Gopal Chandra Chatterji Bahadur, and the other is the equally remarkable work of the Asansol Mines Board of Health under the direction of Dr. Tomb. I commend these two movements to the special notice of your social service students. If you will study their methods and learn all you can of the remarkable results which they have achieved, you will, I am sure, derive as I did, both great enlightenment and immense encouragement.

I am tempted here to develop somewhat the topic which I dealt with in my Convocation address at Calcutta a fortnight ago. I said then that the University would not be doing its duty to the nation to the full unless the urge of its stimulus reached right down through the schools to the villages, and I pointed out that the nationhood of Bengal could not be built on a foundation of widespread illiteracy. I should like to elaborate my

meaning here. Is there one person in Bengal who, honestly facing the facts, can believe that on the present basis of local and provincial taxation any real advance in either primary or secondary education is possible? I doubt whether any complete system of education, primary, secondary, and university, can be introduced at a much less cost than a sum approaching three hundred lakhs per annum; and even then it will be far below the level of the advanced countries of the West, or of Japan. How is this money to be obtained? Revise the Meston award, say some. This, of course, is a necessary preliminary to any advance, but we cannot build up a satisfactory system on our profits from that revision alone, if and when it comes. The people have got to be convinced that it is worth their while to permit Government, and especially local bodies, to take from them money which at present they dare not ask for in the face of popular objection, and to give it back to them in the shape of schools, better roads, wells, machinery for the prevention and treatment of disease, and so on. Education, sanitation, etc., are transferred subjects; the people of Bengal can do just as they like in this matter. They can give their money, and have these things if they so desire; they can keep their money, and do without them. It is for them through their representatives to decide. But before they can be in a position to decide such an issue those centres of knowledge and culture such as universities and colleges where opinion crystallises and where youngmen's attitude to social and political problems is largely formed, must play their part. Gradually, if those centres of thought

do their duty, the leaders of political and social opinion in Bengal will cease to think of Government as a source from which all manner of boons can flow, and will, facing the facts honestly, tell the people of this country that only by sacrifices, far greater than those hitherto contemplated, can they banish for ever from their land the stigma of illiteracy and the nightmare of disease. You, gentlemen, will be the makers of opinion, but before you can form the opinions of others, you must base your own opinions upon study and experience. Learn, therefore, as much as you can of practical experience all over the world. Be impatient of theories, be greedy for facts; do not employ words to conceal thought or be slipshod in their use, search for reality beyond appearances and bring a university-trained mind to bear on all the problems of life.

I desire to congratulate the Halls on the good record of work which their reports reveal. The main centre of the student's life is clearly his Hall, and I am glad to find these Halls are realizing in practice the hopes of those who planned them. May I again single out the Muslim Hall for a special word of mention? The number of students attached and resident is now 360, and it is clear that the Hall is, under Mr. Rahman's sympathetic and wise guidance, doing a great work for the Moslem community. As I said in laying the foundation-stone of the Islamia College at Calcutta, Moslems, even in distant rural areas, are becoming convinced that English education is after all a worthy education even for the most pious, that even in our modern universities' culture can still

be the handmaid of religion, as it was in the great intellectual centres of the famous empires of the faith, and that a Moslem can devote himself to those studies, which are essential if he is to take his rightful share in the making of modern India, without peril to his immortal soul. To this realization the Moslem Hall has been helpful in contributing, as in the fullness of time I am sure the Islamia College at Calcutta, now rising rapidly upon its foundations, will also contribute. The future of Moslem Bengal is in the keeping of these two institutions—the Moslem Hall and the Islamia College. And while I am on this subject, let me again thank Khan Bahadur Musharuf Husain for his generous gift of Rs. 20,000 to further the interests of his co-religionists at Dacca and the Islamia College. I trust that this gift will form the nucleus of a large fund for the extension of Moslem education.

But I must not end on a sectional note. Convinced though I am that communal institutions have their place in the present stage of Bengal's development, I will conclude by directing your attention rather to those aspects which unite you all. In your University life some interests must necessarily separate you. One, at least, should unite you all. You can all resolve that the University of Dacca shall command your wholehearted and united allegiance; that her reputation shall be to you as your own; that she shall be to each one of you, Moslem, Hindu or Christian, a mother of whose honour you are jealous, and at whose feet, inspired by memories of what she has done for you, you are now prepared, and will for

ever be prepared, to lay offerings of service, and devotion. As yet the spirit of reverence, almost of worship, towards the *alma mater*, the kindly mother, nurturer of our mind and heart, has scarcely developed in India. You may develop it in Dacca. Are there any of you who think of Dacca, of your University, merely as a place which mulcts you in fees, and in return grudgingly doles out degrees? Will the memory of Dacca ten years hence cause you any emotion? Will you regard an occasional visit to it in future as a high privilege, and a renewed draught from the wells of spirit? Or will you leave it without a pang, and regard it as an experience, which once completed, you put behind you for ever?

On Wednesday last I presided at a prize-giving at La Martinière School in Calcutta to which an old boy of the school had recently contributed as an endowment the princely sum of six lakhs of rupees. That was evidence of the affection and gratitude which a school can inspire, and as an instance of a similar sentiment inspired by a University let me quote to you what Matthew Arnold wrote about Oxford—

“Steeped in sentiment as she lies, spreading her gardens to the moonlight, and whispering from her towers the last enchantments of the Middle Ages, who will deny that Oxford, by her ineffable charm, keeps ever calling us nearer to the true goal of all of us, to the ideal, to perfection—to beauty, in a word, which is only truth seen from another side?”

Gentlemen, round the name of Dacca, as the national University of Eastern Bengal, will you not help to build up a tender regard, a filial devotion, a patriotic sentiment, in the hearts of her sons, similar to those which Oxford and Cambridge have for so long inspired? She has beauty: Dacca, too, can spread her gardens to the moonlight: her towers, acknowledged by all to be fair, may yet whisper enchantments, if not of antiquity, yet of beauty and intellectual truth and high scholarly devotion. I should like to feel that one of those whom I am addressing to-day, may, after forty or fifty years of struggle and effort towards the making of modern Bengal, write of Dacca in the spirit in which Mr. Gladstone wrote of his University, two generations after he had left it—

“She had initiated, if not inured me to the pursuit of truth as an end of study. I declare that while in the arms of Oxford, I was possessed through and through with single-minded and passionate love of truth, with a virgin love of truth, so that, although I might be swathed in clouds of prejudice there was something of an eye within, that might gradually pierce them.”

Build in that spirit on foundations of reverence and devotion. You will then build for Bengal a possession for ever, and lay firm the foundations of your national life and your political unity. United in your passion for Dacca, you will thereby learn to unite for that greater task of nation-making to which you are all even now imperatively being summoned by the impetuous onrush of the events of our stirring days.

"Things of a day," wrote the poet Pindar, "things of a day! a dream of a shadow is mankind. Yet when there comes down glory imparted from God, radiant light shines among men and genial days." In the spectrum of that glory one principal line is that honest dealing with the intellect which flashed upon mankind with the Greeks, and which we sometimes dare to hope is a feature of our modern world. Clothed in the beauty of this divine splendour, go forth from these walls haters of shams, scorers of the superficial, dissipators of prejudice, seekers after knowledge and truth, workers for unity, and in your search for ever greater and better things "be inspired with the belief that life is a great and noble calling, not a mere grovelling thing, that we are to shuffle through as we can, but an elevated and lofty destiny."

His Excellency's Address to the Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, when conferring on him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law, on 6th March 1925.

MR. HARTOG,

I am delighted that it should have fallen to my lot to confer upon you the high honour with which your colleagues on the Court have desired to signify their grateful appreciation of the singular services which you have rendered to the University as its first Vice-Chancellor. That this distinction has been fully merited, I am glad to bear witness from personal experience, and as Chancellor of the University I desire to thank you on its behalf for your single-minded devotion to its interests during the last four years.

As a member of the Calcutta University Commission you were fully acquainted with the shortcomings of our University education in this country and the direction in which reform was needed. You were, therefore, specially qualified to take charge of this new institution and to steer it along sound lines during the first year of its life. The University to-day is in a large measure your own product, and I hope that you feel proud of your child. You have certainly every reason to be so because, although only four years old, Dacca University has already made a name for itself in the world and has set a mark upon its students which has been recognized and appreciated beyond the limits of Bengal. The

establishment of the tutorial system is largely your work. Thanks to the efforts of you and your staff Dacca students have been taught to think for themselves and Dacca University has up to now derived more benefit from the recommendations of your Commission than the University in whose interests you laboured.

Yours has been an uphill task. You have had to prepare the ground and lay the foundations of a new institution. You have had to contend with great financial difficulties, and many of the conditions which you were led to expect when you took office as Vice-Chancellor, have not been fulfilled. Nevertheless, you have worked with patience, with courage and with industry, and you have your reward to-day in the appreciation of all your colleagues. We greatly regret that this should be the last Convocation at which we shall see you as our Vice-Chancellor. We part with you in sorrow, and we wish you happiness and success in the life which still lies before you. Wherever you go you will carry with you the sincere gratitude of those with whom and for whom you have laboured so conscientiously. I hope, too, that you will have the satisfaction of watching this University grow and prosper in the years to come on the foundations that you have so well laid.

By virtue of the authority vested in me as Chancellor of this University, I hereby confer on you, Philip Joseph Hartog, Companion of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire, the degree of Doctor of Law, *honoris causa*.

***His Excellency's Speech in laying the
Foundation-stone of the Lytton Hall, on
6th March 1925.***

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

You have asked me to lay the foundation-stone of a building which, when completed, should prove to be a great boon to the Dacca Hall. I understand the present arrangements for developing the corporate life of the Hall are quite inadequate, and it is this gap that the Assembly Room is designed to fill. The building will consist of a general room for debates and meetings, a library sufficiently large to allow of the convenient arrangement of all the present stock and yet admits of expansion in the future, and also offices. I am much honoured by your decision to give my name to this Hall, and I hope that it will remove to a very large extent the disabilities under which the students have been developing their social activities. I shall always be proud to have my name associated with one of the Halls of a University in which I take so deep an interest and for which I confidently predict a most illustrious future.

***His Excellency's Speech at the opening
of the Dacca Training College Exhibi-
tion, on 7th March 1925.***

[The speech was read by Lady Hermione Lytton, as His Excellency could not attend owing to indisposition.]

MR. PRINCIPAL, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

All my life I have been deeply interested in the practice of teaching—chiefly, perhaps, because I have myself been much practised upon. I have been taught by nurses, by governesses, by tutors, by schoolmasters, by crammers, by University professors. I have even tried to learn by myself, unaided, and if I am not as learned as I should be after all these good people have worked upon me, I must be forgiven if I plead that the fault is theirs and not mine. They, of course, would contend the exact opposite and claim that no teacher could do anything with such unresponsive material! I admit at least that if I am to attribute the blame for my ignorance to my teachers, I must be prepared to point out in what respects their technique has been defective and, therefore, in studying the methods of teaching I have always tried to test them by my experience as a pupil. The methods which succeeded in my case seem to me likely to succeed with others, those which failed in my case may in all probability fail with others. This is, of course, not an entirely reliable guide because, if there is one thing which every experienced teacher must know, it is that no two children are alike and that no method is equally successful with all.

Nevertheless, as a good working principle I commend this piece of reasoning to teachers. It is not much use their repeating as teachers the methods by which they themselves failed to learn, merely because they know no others.

Another general principle which I venture to commend to teachers—and which they are not likely to accept, because it is apt to offend their vanity—is that no child is unteachable. If, therefore, their pupils don't make as much progress as they desire, the fault is in the main their own. A child may be inattentive or slow or wilfully idle, but if so, that is because you have failed to inspire him with a wish to learn, and if you do not begin by doing that, all your labour will be thrown away. I should like to see this recognized by marking the teacher after examining the child!

In old days it used to be taken for granted that anyone who had been a successful learner must necessarily be a successful teacher, and many generations of children have suffered unnecessarily from this fallacy. In most of our schools in the past it has been truer, I think, to say that the lower forms have been the means of teaching inexperienced teachers how to teach than that experienced teachers have taught them how to learn.

It is at any rate generally acknowledged to-day that teaching is a profession which like all others has to be learnt, though I fear that the salaries which we still pay to our teachers is an indication of the small value which we attach to their services. The admission of this fact is, however, a great advance, and I have no hesitation in saying that a Teachers' Training College is without exception

the most important institution in any country, and the profession of teaching the most honourable and most responsible profession in the world.

The exhibition of teaching methods and theories, which the Dacca Training College for Teachers has organized, is evidence that that body takes its responsibilities seriously and is anxious to provide those whom it trains with ample material for the study of their profession.

I very much regret that a sudden sharp indisposition has prevented me from seeing the Exhibition myself, but I have read with interest the little hand-book describing and explaining the exhibits, and this has been enough to assure me that I should have found it both interesting and valuable. If I had seen it I should have liked to comment upon some of its features. As it is, I must content myself with congratulating Mr. West upon the evidence of thorough research and the wide study of various experiments which this Exhibition reveals. It is admirable in its conception and extremely practical in its execution. I am certain that teachers and all who are interested in the profession of teaching, will derive the greatest benefit from visiting it. I commend it to the attention of the public.

I now declare the Exhibition open.

His Excellency's Speech at the Presidents' Conference, Dacca, on 7th March 1925.

[The Speech was read by the Commissioner, as His Excellency could not attend on account of indisposition]

GENTLEMEN,

I am delighted to be able once again to open the Conference of Presidents in this district. On the other two occasions on which I have performed this duty I have been able to congratulate the district on the rapid growth of the movement, so far as that growth could be gauged by figures and statistics. I understand that the whole area of the district is now nearly covered and that only 46 of the old Chaukidari Unions remain. It is obvious that henceforth we must adopt a new measure of progress. From now onwards we must estimate the growth of this system of local self government exclusively by the character of the work which it accomplishes and the expansion of its activities without regard to the number of new Boards established, which must necessarily be a diminishing quantity. It is eminently satisfactory, I think, to have reached this stage. It may interest you perhaps to hear that the Secretary of State is taking a lively interest in the working of this system and has asked me to send him as much information as possible regarding the work of the Union Boards. It is always encouraging, I think, to know that one's work is being watched with sympathetic interest and I shall be able to give the Secretary of

State a very good report of the work which "the Union Boards, are doing in this part of Bengal.

These annual conferences play a very important part in your work and, as I have remarked on former occasions, have great value for various reasons. In the first place, a conference like this affords me an opportunity of publicly rewarding those Presidents who have done particularly good work and taken exceptional interest in the activities of their Boards, and of thus stimulating others to follow their examples.

Secondly, it brings together Presidents from all over the district and gives them an opportunity of meeting and exchanging views informally and however indirectly, this must be most advantageous to all concerned.

In the third place—and this I gather to be the primary object of such a conference—it enables the Presidents to meet formally and discuss methods of improving the system of extending the usefulness and range of the Boards; they can then bring their considered opinion to the notice of Government.

I now want to say something to you about the attitude of Government towards your resolutions. In the first place, I want to assure you that every one of the resolutions which you pass and forward to Government receives a most careful investigation. The very thoroughness with which we examine them often involves, I am afraid, considerable delay in replying to them. Many of your resolutions concern more than one department of Government, and a reference to all the departments

concerned necessarily increases the time which we have to devote to their consideration. You must not, therefore, attribute our delay in replying to indifference or assume that nothing is being done.

Further, I want to ask you not to measure the value of the views which you express merely by the acceptance or otherwise by Government of your recommendations. The resolutions which you pass, and the replies which are sent to you, must be regarded as a kind of joint deliberation. Sometimes it may happen that your suggestions are found to be based upon some misapprehension which we are able to remove; sometimes there may be objections to what you propose of which you could not be aware and which we are able to point out. In both these cases, although your resolutions are not accepted, they are not wasted, but have led to a fuller understanding of the problem with which they deal. Sometimes, again, your proposals would involve amendments of the Local Self-Government or Village Self-Government Acts, and though desirable in themselves, we may be unwilling to take up such amendments piecemeal. In those cases your recommendations are carefully noted and will be given effect to when the amendment of these Acts is next undertaken.

Of the 19 resolutions passed at last year's conference 14 were carried. The reply of Government which has taken a whole year to prepare has recently been sent to the Commissioner and you will very shortly be made acquainted with our decisions. I hope when you come to consider them you will bear in mind the general considerations which I have mentioned. Some of these

great suffering to thousands more. Then there is the terrible mortality among infants in the first year of their life, which is clearly preventable with more knowledge and care. Let me remind you of the actual facts. Out of a population in Bengal of 46½ millions, 250,000 suffer from cholera of which 84,000 die annually: 50,000 suffer from small-pox of which 17,000 die: 30 million suffer from malaria of which 300,000 die. From fevers of all kind 1,045,000 die every year and 100,000 from the other two diseases—small-pox and cholera—and the rate of infant mortality during the first year of life is 200 for every 1,000 born. Surely these are evils great enough to unite us as closely as did the perils of war. In those dark days before the menace of an external enemy we closed our ranks, we forgot our differences, we acted together. Cannot we do the same in face of the internal danger from disease? While we are busy with our petty political disputes, men, women, and children are dying in thousands all round us every year. This will, indeed, be a red letter day in the history of Bengal, if, as the result of this meeting, we can begin to organize an effective campaign against these terrible diseases.

We want a plentiful supply of doctors: we want trained public health nurses in large numbers: we want education in hygiene and the laws of sanitation. All this means money and organization. If we are indifferent, we shall not get the funds: if we are disorganized and disunited, there will be waste and we shall fail. But if we only care enough to act together we shall succeed. What is needed is the mobilization of the whole province in a campaign against disease.

In your places you will find forms of enrolment. I hope when you have heard the speeches this evening, you will all enlist in the great peace army, which we hope to form, not that Germans and others may die, but that the people of Bengal may live.

to policy is a natural and healthy development; and each party should try to enforce its policy on the Board by recognized and honourable means. When it is in a minority it must endeavour by helpful criticism to persuade the majority to its way of thinking, and it must be prepared, if successful, to carry out its policy; but to leave the field altogether involves the betrayal of its supporters and the surrender of its policy, as such action leaves the opposite side unchecked by the criticism of its opponents. A minority may not be able to control the policy while it remains a minority, but its criticisms afford a salutary check and should be always welcome to fair-minded opponents.

Another defect may be caused by letting the machinery become too complicated. Union Benches and Courts particularly require to be on their guard against this. Their main object should be the simplification of procedure and the prevention of delay. Their decisions should be as prompt as possible, and if insignificant details and unnecessary adjournments are allowed to prolong the proceedings, the whole object and merit of these local Courts will be defeated. It is always easier to defer a decision, but the greatest boon these Courts can offer to the villagers is that of summary jurisdiction and if the practice of adjournments becomes at all general, it will destroy the whole value of the system.

I have mentioned these possible defects not by way of criticism, but in order that you may be on your guard against them, that you may recognize the symptoms as they occur and take the necessary

steps to correct them. You must remember that, you are pioneers; that you are the first builders of an important system of village self-government, and that if you do your work well, others will be able to build on the foundations that you have laid. It is very encouraging to hear that so far the Union Boards in this district are working so satisfactorily and have brought already to many villages the advantages of improved communications, good water, primary education and medical relief.

I shall now leave you to your deliberations.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Deputation
from the Mahila Samiti which waited
upon him on the 31st March 1925.***

**LADY MOOKERJEE AND MEMBERS OF THE MAHILA
SAMITI,**

I take it as a great compliment that you should have sought an opportunity of discussing with me the work in which I know you are so deeply interested. I take it as a compliment because I feel that it is an honour to be allowed to have a share in the work in which your Association is engaged. I do not think it is possible to overstate the value of an educated womanhood in any country because when we educate the women we are doing more than educate the women themselves : we are educating those who will have responsibility in their turn for the education not only of their girls, but also of their boys in their homes ; for it is in the home that all education begins, and, however good the schools may be, they will never be able really to do the best for their pupils unless the homes from which they come are co-operating with them.

I have met some of you, I think, in another connection, when you came to speak to me about the franchise of women in Bengal. I then expressed to you my sympathy with your object, and I told you that I considered that the progress and the standard of civilization in any country could best be measured by the position which its women occupy. I described as most advanced and most in

the van of progress in the world those countries which admitted their women to all their political activities and gave them the full rights, responsibilities and duties of citizenship. I am, therefore, naturally very glad to hear from you about the movement in which you are all interested and which aims at making women fit to carry out those duties and responsibilities, whenever it may please the legislature to give them the opportunities.

You have told me in your address about the work in which you are engaged. I gather that it is principally concentrated in the Gokhale Memorial Girls' School and that it is in regard to that school that you wish particularly to have my help. Well, I can tell you, what you probably know already that Lady Lytton is deeply interested in the welfare of the school. I may also tell you, what you probably do not know, that as soon as her interest in the school was awakened, she lost no time in reminding me that I was not only the Governor, but also, for the time being the Minister for Education! So she said—"What need is there to consult any one else! You are the Government of Bengal in the Education Department, you are the Governor acting with his Minister, and if I can convince you of the needs of this worthy institution, you can consider them and pass orders for them to be satisfied." She said this, firmly believing it and strongly hoping that the Minister of Education would accept the case she was laying before him. I had to explain to her, as I must explain to you, that a Minister, even with the consent of the Governor, is not able to do everything he wishes,

he cannot by a stroke of the pen do exactly what he wants to do. He is but one member of the Government and he has to do and can do only that which the Government, of which he is a member, agrees to do. I can assure you, of course, that I considered the request of the Gokhale Memorial Girls' School with sympathy, and I can promise you "the co-operation and appreciation" which you ask for in your address, but I have also to consider this request in conjunction with other claims from different parts of the province. Your claim is that I should give the school authorities, as a free gift, a piece of land belonging to Government. I told Lady Lytton and I must now tell you that it is not in my power to give any part of the Porra Bazar land as a free gift to anybody because there is a Government resolution to the effect that this land is not to be disposed of at less than its market value. Though I cannot give you this land I am prepared to help you to acquire it. I consulted the Director of Public Instruction and the Secretary in the Education Department, and I said to them that it was perfectly obvious that Government must do something for the Gokhale Memorial Girls' School. Both the nature of their work and the contribution of two lakhs of rupees which the authorities of the school were themselves making entitle them to some help in return. I asked the department to let me know whether the amount of our contribution could be equal to the value of the land. If you have not had an answer sooner, it was because the proposal necessitated correspondence with various departments. The enquiry is not yet complete, and I am sorry that I am not in

a position to tell you what is the final result, but I hope that in some way or other we may find it possible to help you to satisfy your needs.

I cannot conclude without thanking you very cordially indeed for the kind sentiments expressed in the last paragraph of your address and for the congratulations which you have offered on my appointment to act temporarily in the place of the Viceroy. I am, of course, pleased with the honour of such promotion and appreciate it, but I admit that I have no wish to leave Bengal at this moment. I have many friends and many interests here which I want neither to part with nor interrupt, but I do feel that it is possible that my new experience may not only be of value to myself, but also to those whom I am trying to help.

I thank you very much indeed. I can assure you of my deep sympathy with the work in which you are engaged and of my determination to do all in my power to promote it.

***His Excellency's Speech at the opening of
the Blind School Building at Behala, on
31st March, 1925.***

MY LORD CHIEF JUSTICE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

This is a great day in the history of a great charitable movement. To realize how great it is we must go back 30 years. Down to 1894 the blind were left to grope in their darkness—I will not say unpitied because the sight of a blind child cannot fail to arouse the pity of the hardest heart—but unheeded and unhelped. In that year Mr. Shah, whom I think I may describe as the blind child's friend, came upon the scene. He learnt the Braille system and three years later opened a school for the blind in his own house with one pupil.

To-day we are opening a fine new building which will accommodate 50 pupils in healthy open country away from the city and Mr. Shah, I am glad to say, is still with us to see how God has prospered his handiwork.

Ladies and gentlemen, you may, perhaps, expect me to describe to you the merits of this fine new school—to tell you how much better it is than that little room in which the work began or even than the various hired buildings in which it has since found temporary lodging from time to time, during the intervening years; you may wish me to tell you of how the funds have been raised and to thank the subscribers. That has already been so well done by Sir Lancelot Sanderson that I feel I cannot improve on the history which he has given you.

It is, as he has said, a romantic story. The new building is there for you all to see and I will leave you to admire it for yourselves. You have learnt from the Chief Justice the stages by which it has been reached. You have heard from him the names of those to whom we are indebted. Imagine that his story were a cinema film which you have just seen pass upon the screen from start to finish. I want now to replace it in the machine and reverse it. I want you to travel back with me through the intervening years until we arrive at that little room where one blind child first began to learn at the feet of Mr. Shah.

"For I am 'ware it is the seed of act
 God holds appraising in his hollow palm
 Not act grown great thence on the world below
 Leafage and branchage vulgar eyes admire."

Here is the act grown great, the leafage and branchage. But it is still only a small plant, and I hope it will spread and grow still further, but it was in Mr. Shah's house that the seed was first sown and it is this seed of act I would ask you to appraise.

The reason why this work has prospered is because it is sown in love, because one man said in his heart—I will use the life that God has given me to lighten the darkness of those who have been denied the precious gift of sight. Such a seed planted in such a soil was bound to grow, and it is to Mr. Shah that the 50 blind children who will be taught in this building owe everything. The work has long ago passed out of his hands, though I am glad to know that his son is now the Head Master of the school and is carrying on what his father so

ably began. However great this institution may become, and I hope that it will go on growing steadily in future years, every addition to the building, every rupee added to its endowment, will be due to the man who first planted the seed. That it has not grown more rapidly, that it is still in a struggling condition is due to the fact that more men have not been found with the same inspiration, the same devotion, the same spirit of service which first animated Mr. Shah, and has since inspired the men and women who have carried on his work.

I am not going to sing the praises of this new school, to point out to you its many advantages, and to congratulate the Governors on the achievement. If I were to do so, I might create a wrong impression. You might then go away with the comfortable belief that all that was required was now being done. You might return to your homes and say to your friends—"Is not it a happy thing that these poor blind children are now being cared for and are well taught in a beautiful new building out at Behala." That would be a mistake. The work is not finished, it is scarcely begun. That is why I asked you to go back in imagination to the beginning and to realize that picture of the first blind child receiving its first lesson. All that has happened since only serves to show us what may follow, what should follow from that beginning: it has not brought us to the end or even within sight of the end. I want you to return to your homes and to tell your friends that you have learnt to-day, that the way to relieve the sorrows of the blind and to remedy their deficiencies was pointed out to us

great suffering to thousands more. Then there is the terrible mortality among infants in the first year of their life, which is clearly preventable with more knowledge and care. Let me remind you of the actual facts. Out of a population in Bengal of 46½ millions, 250,000 suffer from cholera of which 84,000 die annually: 50,000 suffer from small-pox of which 17,000 die: 30 million suffer from malaria of which 300,000 die. From fevers of all kind 1,045,000 die every year and 100,000 from the other two diseases—small-pox and cholera—and the rate of infant mortality during the first year of life is 200 for every 1,000 born. Surely these are evils great enough to unite us as closely as did the perils of war. In those dark days before the menace of an external enemy we closed our ranks, we forgot our differences, we acted together. Cannot we do the same in face of the internal danger from disease? While we are busy with our petty political disputes, men, women, and children are dying in thousands all round us every year. This will, indeed, be a red letter day in the history of Bengal, if, as the result of this meeting, we can begin to organize an effective campaign against these terrible diseases.

We want a plentiful supply of doctors: we want trained public health nurses in large numbers: we want education in hygiene and the laws of sanitation. All this means money and organization. If we are indifferent, we shall not get the funds: if we are disorganized and disunited, there will be waste and we shall fail. But if we only care enough to act together we shall succeed. What is needed is the mobilization of the whole province in a campaign against disease.

In your places you will find forms of enrolment. I hope when you have heard the speeches this evening, you will all enlist in the great peace army, which we hope to form, not that Germans and others may die, but that the people of Bengal may live.

***His Excellency's Speech at the Dinner
at the Calcutta Club, on 8th January
1923, to meet the representatives of
the Associated Chambers of Commerce.***

GENTLEMEN, .

I am deeply grateful to you for the cordial welcome you have given me and I am delighted to have this opportunity of meeting the representatives of the commercial community in India. It is, indeed, a very different India from that into which I was born. It is even, I think, I may say a different India from that of a year ago. Sir Campbell Rhodes has described the happy conditions of friendly competition in which you, gentlemen, do your work. I sincerely hope that, with your help it may be possible before long for similar conditions to prevail in the sphere of politics, and for Indians and Europeans to differ from each other in political matters with as much good temper and mutual respect as you, gentlemen, compete with each other in the fields of commerce and industry. Periods of transition are notoriously difficult, and we are in a period of transition at the present time. In old days you had no occasion to concern yourselves with Indian politics. You relied upon the Government at home to provide you with efficient rulers, and you had on the whole good reason to be satisfied with the type of men who came out from England to look after the administration of this country. It was inevitable that the struggle over the transference of responsibility for Government from

England to India, should be accompanied by much bitterness, and while the battle raged neither side found it easy to believe that the other was actuated only by a desire for the welfare of the country. But the issue around which political controversy has been carried on in recent years is now settled and a new one has taken its place. It is no longer in dispute whether responsibility for the Government of India should be mainly in England or mainly in India. That is now settled finally and irrevocably, and the political problem of to-day is what form of Government is best suited to the conditions which prevail in this country, and at what date and in what manner full responsibility will be transferred to it.

I hope you will not think that it is out of place for me to speak to a gathering of business men about Indian politics. I am venturing to do so, because it seems to me that the interests of the industry and commerce in which you are engaged are vitally affected by them, and the aloofness from politics which you have been able to maintain in the past will be impossible in the future. If in the years ahead of us those who live in India are to choose their own Government and increasingly to determine its policy, then it is of the utmost importance that Englishmen who live in India should recognize their share of responsibility in framing and in working the constitution, and that those who are engaged in industry and commerce, whether they be Indian or European, should combine for the protection of the capital which is invested in the country and for

the maintenance of conditions under which trade and commerce may flourish.

When I have spoken in this sense to the businessmen whom I have met since I came to India, I have been told that the directors of business companies are so occupied in looking after their business that they have no time to attend to politics, and that those who retire from business and take up politics rapidly lose their influence in Clive Street. I recognize that this is a serious difficulty, but I suggest to you that some means will have to be found to overcome it. I hesitate to make any specific recommendation, but I would ask you seriously to consider the problem.

In saying this I am not merely making an appeal on behalf of Government for the help of the business community. His Excellency the Viceroy spoke in that sense to you this morning. I am rather suggesting to you that you should consider an active participation in politics in your own interests, in the interest, that is, of the businesses in which you are engaged. I have been a humble student of history at college and since in my leisure hours, and I have also watched with a keen interest the effect of great political changes in my own country and in other countries of Europe and it has always seemed to me that where any class has suffered or disappeared as a consequence of such changes, it has been because its members have adopted an attitude of what in India I suppose could be called non-co-operation, because they have withdrawn from public life and refused

to take part in politics. I have heard doubts and fears expressed at times as to what may be the effect on trade of the political changes which have been introduced or are in contemplation in India. "What security have we," it is asked, "that our industries will survive, our credit maintained, or that capital invested in the country will be secure?" Gentlemen, I see great dangers if the leaders of industry and commerce cannot find the time to attend to politics, but I have no fear whatever of the future if they will realize their responsibility and exercise the great influence which they possess in organizing and directing political opinion. One solution might, perhaps, be found if commercial companies were to add to their Boards of Management one Director whose business it would be to look after the political interests of the company. But you are far better able to judge than I am what steps you should take to carry out the suggestion I have put before you, and I will content myself with expressing the hope that in your future deliberations a consideration of how your political interest may best be organized will find a place.

I apologise for having made to you rather a dull speech, but neither rhetoric nor sentiment nor humour had any place in the message which I wanted to convey to you. I feel that I have ill-repaid your hospitality and exhausted your patience, but I hope you will believe me when I say that I am truly grateful for the kindness with which you have received me.

***His Excellency's Speech at the Meeting of
the Historical Records Commission, on
12th January 1923.***

GENTLEMEN,

I am delighted to have this opportunity of welcoming the Indian Historical Commission on this their first visit to Calcutta.

In Calcutta, we are fortunate in having not only the Bengal Historical Record Room, but also the Imperial Record Office, and these contain all the historical records of the East India Company's Government other than those dealt with by the Madras and Bombay Governments up to the year 1858.

A short reference to the early history of Bengal will enable you to realize the wealth of material for historical research which is to be found in Calcutta.

In 1773, the Government of Bengal was given controlling authority over the other Presidencies, and the Governor of Bengal was designated Governor-General. In 1834, he became Governor-General of India. At the same time the local Governorship of Bengal was created and the proceedings relating to both Imperial and local concerns came to be recorded in separate series, although up to 1843 there continued to be one Secretariat for the two Governments. When this division took place, not only were the local records transferred to the Government of Bengal, but also the whole of the Revenue and Judicial records of the Governor-General down to 1834, as they dealt with details of administration which were primarily that Government's concern.

Our Bengal Historical Record Room has thus a wealth of valuable historical information. In fact, James Grant Duff goes so far as to say that the Records of the East India Company's Government in India are probably the best historical material in the world. The reasons for this are suggested by Mr. Foster, Superintendent of Records at the India Office, to be as follows :—

“The distance separating the Company from its servants in the East, and the jealous care with which it supervised their actions, necessitated full explanations by correspondence; while the system of administration in the Company's settlements and territories, which from the first took the form of a Council, also favoured a full disclosure of the motives underlying every decision of importance. In its final development proposals were largely made in written minutes, which often, in controversial questions, provoked equally argumentative minutes of dissent; and these were entered at full length upon the records of the Council meetings termed—consultations or proceedings.”

About 31 years ago, the Imperial Record Department was created. Before that, in spite of the recommendations of the Record Commission of 1861, the different departments of the Government of India and the Local Government kept their own records, with the result that they were scattered in inconvenient and unsuitable repositories, and were not readily available for systematic research. I do not

think that anyone will doubt the wisdom of the authorities in finally deciding in 1891 to establish a General Record Office for the custody and preservation of the old records of all the departments of the Government of India, and I understand that during the short period the Imperial Record Office has been in existence, much has been accomplished in the direction of classifying, arranging, listing and preserving the records—an essential preliminary, if these valuable documents are to be made accessible to the public. Substantial progress has been made with the preparation of press lists and calenders, a complete set of which is on view at the meeting. It is expected that a handbook to the Records in the Imperial Record Department will shortly be published.

It may not, perhaps, be generally known that men like Sir George Forrest, the late Mr. A. T. Pringle, Mr. S. C. Hill—"Bengal in 1756," the late Dr. C. R. Wilson—"Early Annals of the English in Bengal" and Sir Dennison Ross, who have made their name in the field of Indian education and research, were, at one time or other, Keepers of the Imperial Records, and that materials for some of their best works were drawn chiefly from these records.

Now let me turn to the Bengal Historical Record Room of which I can speak with more authority.

I have already suggested that the history of Bengal indicates the value of the material which we have in our Record Room, and I am glad to say that during the past 15 years increasing attention has been paid to them. At one time there was a proposal to amalgamate the old records of this Government and of the Government of India in

a Central Record Office, but the transfer of the capital to Delhi fortunately disposed of this proposal. I say "fortunately," because I believe that such a proposal would have resulted in a loss of local interest and local knowledge. This matter having been decided, the Local Government established its Historical Record Room, which contains the records of Government and of the Board of Revenue down to the end of 1858. Although the establishment of this room dates from 1912 only, very considerable progress has been made. The records consisting of over 10,000 bundles and 11,000 volumes have been repaired, sorted and classified; and a catalogue of them was published last year. Work has also been undertaken on the earliest records dating from the 18th century, so as to make them known to historical students. Abstracts of some have been published, while others, including the records of several districts, have been printed *in extenso*. The proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad, which contain valuable information about Bengal at the time when the British began to administer the country, are now being published, and a volume of the Chittagong District Records for 1760-1773 will appear shortly. I understand that copies of the Record Room's publications are also on view at the meeting.

In both Record Departments there is a wealth of material awaiting investigation by those interested. The Indian Historical Records Commission was constituted in 1919 by the Government of India, who were anxious to make the official records in India more accessible to students of history, and to remove any obstacles there might be to research. The Commission was constituted as a permanent body of

expert advisers, and it is in accordance with their advice and in order to make the records more accessible to the public, that the two Record Rooms have been classifying, indexing and printing the old archives. Rules have been adopted to give facilities of access to the records, and the publications are distributed to societies, colleges, and persons interested in the subject.

Here in Bengal we owe a great debt of gratitude to Archdeacon Firminger, who was a member of the Commission and whose retirement from India in 1921 is a serious loss to historical research here. His zeal and labour were of inestimable value in contributing to our knowledge of Calcutta and of old Bengal generally, and he gave to the public the results of his researches in "Bengal Past and Present," the journal of the Calcutta Historical Society.

This society aims at fostering the study of old Bengal and particularly of old Calcutta, and I am delighted that it has been recently revived under the stimulus of Mr. Cotton, who, I am glad to see, has been made a member of the Commission and will preside over your proceedings. I feel sure that Mr. Cotton will come forward to carry on the work to which Archdeacon Firminger devoted himself with such enthusiasm, and in which Mr. Cotton himself was so interested while he was in Calcutta many years ago—an interest which he sustained during his absence in England.

What a vast mass of material there must be in these two record-rooms and what opportunities there are for adding to our knowledge of old Calcutta and Bengal. I am confident that in this great city our learned institutions, such as the Asiatic Society

the Historical Society, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad' and all its colleges, will make the most of the material and will sift out what is valuable and make it available for the general public.

The Commission is here to advise us and I hope that those who are interested in the history of old India will take advantage of their presence and deliberations to obtain guidance in any research work they may be willing to undertake.

The papers which will be read at this meeting form an interesting programme and include many that should be of special concern to Bengal. Amongst them, I note, "The last Will and Testament of Mr. G. F. Grand," and I have no doubt that Mr. J. J. Cotton has much to say that will throw light on certain incidents at the end of the 18th century. Mr. Moreno and Mr. Nabar's papers on Anglo-Indian origin and the genealogy of the Jagat Seth of Murshidabad, will give us more knowledge of particular families; while Mr. Ramsbotham's papers on the Revenue Collections in Bengal and Mr. Badruddin Ahmed's on the old Judicial Records of the High Court will enable us to draw an interesting comparison between the Revenue and Judicial administration of earlier generations with those of to-day.

An exhibition of old historical manuscripts and paintings is now held in connection with the annual session of the Commission, and in the list of exhibits collected for the present session, you will find a number of interesting documents from Government archives, public institutions and individuals.

In conclusion, I should like to assure the Commission that we heartily welcome their presence here, and wish their deliberations all success.

*Address presented by the Commissioners of the
Suri Municipality and the Members of the
District Board of Birbhum, on 15th January
1923.*

1. We, the members of the 'District Board of Birbhum and the Commissioners of the Suri Municipality, on behalf of the district, respectfully beg leave to approach Your Excellency with this address of loyal and hearty welcome on the auspicious occasion of Your Excellency's first visit to this town of Suri and to our district. We shall first of all beg leave of Your Excellency to avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our firm devotion and loyalty to the august person and throne of His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor.

2. During the administration of Your Excellency's predecessors, the first two Governors of this Presidency, the turn of visiting Birbhum unfortunately came so late that no chance occurred of Their Excellencies' paying a second visit to this poor district within the period of their administration. Your Excellency, however, has been graciously pleased to visit the district at an early period in your régime and we consider this specially fortunate for us, inasmuch as we fervently hope and pray that Your Excellency will kindly visit our district once or twice again to encourage us in our works.

3. Since April 1920, the District Board has been working with a non-official Chairman at its head and has been striving very hard with the scanty means at its disposal to add to the comfort and convenience of

the public and to improve the sanitation, water-supply and irrigation of the district. How far the District Board has been able to justify the conferment of the boon of non-official Chairmanship is to be judged by the public and the Government from the results of the efforts of the Board in different directions.

4. The last census report has revealed a most appalling death-rate in the district, perhaps the heaviest in the Presidency, and the District Board holds with the Director of Public Health and other authorities of the province that the best means of reducing the mortality of the district consists in improving the supply of good drinking water and providing adequate means of irrigation. To attain the first object, the District Board has applied for a loan of a lakh of rupees and the Department of Local Self-Government has been dealing with this application.

5. The average rainfall of the district is about 54 inches. From the records of the last 72 years it has been found that the district gets almost the same total amount of rainfall every year and the deficiency that has taken place during this period is not in the amount of rainfall, but in the capacity of the district for storing up this water to the required extent for the purpose of irrigation. One favourable feature of the district is that its paddy-fields were provided in old days by the ancient zamindars with a great number of irrigation tanks. In course of time these tanks have silted up. If we can re-excavate all these tanks and connect them, wherever possible, by small canals with adjacent streamlets for the purpose of filling them up during the monsoon and flushing the villages

wherever possible, the district is sure to improve in point of sanitation and will never know a failure of crops. If the people have sufficient food and good drinking water, they will be less liable to attacks of Malaria and more able to combat them with the result that the death-rate of the district will certainly diminish.

6. With this end in view, through the agencies of the District and Branch Agricultural Associations and the officers and demonstrators of the Agricultural Department, as many as 860 tanks were re-excavated in the district last year at a cost of about Rs. 90,000, the whole of which was contributed by the people themselves who would be benefited by the irrigation water. To bring this work into a more systematic form and to enable the cultivators to raise loans where necessary, the Co-operative Department has been pleased to place in the district an additional Co-operative Inspector for the purpose of arranging the registration of co-operative irrigation societies.

7. The district has been provided by nature with a very large number of rivers and streamlets through which a large volume of water flows from the month of June to October, that is to say, during the period in which water is needed for the paddy crop. Attempts are being made to construct permanent dams across small streams and to cut distributory channels on both sides of the river for irrigation of paddy-fields, to construct sluice-gates on the banks of rivers and also to construct canals, where possible, for the benefit of a group of villages.

8. A sluice-gate has already been constructed at a cost of about Rs. 2,000 to draw water from the river

Mayurakshi and a co-operative irrigation society has already been registered to meet the cost of its maintenance, the initial cost of construction having been paid by Babu Benoy Krishna Mukharji, Zamindar, Kundola. This was opened by the Hon'ble Minister of Agriculture and Industries on the 12th April 1922.

9. The District Board already prepared some schemes for such works, submitted them to the Chief Engineer, Irrigation Department, and has received his instructions on them.

10. We are extremely grateful to Government for the appointment of an Agricultural Engineer whose services we have been utilizing as much as possible.

11. A great amount of surveying has to be done for the preparation of even a minor scheme of irrigation; and as the progress of the formation of co-operative irrigation societies will be greatly retarded, unless surveying facilities are provided, we have approached the Co-operative Department with the prayer to supply the district with at least two surveyors.

12. Mr. J. R. Blackwood, L.C.S., our worthy District Magistrate, has been taking a very great interest in the matter of putting the various schemes of irrigation into execution and with his able guidance we expect to achieve appreciable results in the near future.

13. To put into effect the different schemes in the course of the next 12 months we shall require at least two lakhs of rupees, one-fourth of which will be paid by the cultivators immediately, and the balance, namely, a lakh and-a-half will be raised as loans from the Co-operative Banks of the district, the Rampurhat Central Bank specially being in a position to finance these schemes entirely, if necessary.

14. The District Board has an income from road cess and public works cess of Rs. 1,58,000 which, with the augmentation grant of Rs. 19,000, amounts to Rs. 1,77,000. Out of this we spend on Roads and Establishment Rs. 96,000, Water-supply Rs. 10,000, Education Rs. 26,000, Medical and Sanitation Rs. 22,000, Veterinary Department Rs. 4,000 and for contribution to Union Boards Rs. 19,000. Thus our income is spent in the maintenance of our roads, tanks and wells, schools and dispensaries, veterinary and other ordinary purposes and hardly any money is left for either the improvement of existing important roads or the construction of new ones. We have consequently postponed for a more favourable period all hope of constructing new roads; but we felt the urgency of improving the two main roads in the district, namely those that connect the headquarters of the district with Rampurhat, a subdivisional headquarters and with Bolpur, a place of great commerce and a future subdivisional headquarters. For metalling these two roads we have applied to the Department of Local Self-Government for a loan of Rs. 60,000 and the department has the matter under consideration.

15. Seven charitable dispensaries were maintained by the District Board and four others received a grant-in-aid. In the course of the last two years and a half, two more District Board dispensaries have been opened and eight dispensaries have been established with the joint help of the District Board, Union Boards and the well-to-do philanthropic members of the public. Besides these, there are four private charitable dispensaries in the district. So

the total number of charitable dispensaries is at present 25.

16. The Department of Local Self-Government issued a circular to the effect that the District Boards might levy in their charitable dispensaries a fee of one anna from each new patient and one pice from each old patient, indigent patients being exempted. We have introduced this system in most of our dispensaries and we expect that the scanty means of the dispensaries will be augmented to some extent by this method.

17. In pursuance of a circular of the Department of Local Self-Government, regarding the proposed contribution of a grant-in-aid of Rs. 500 a year for a thana headquarters, and Rs. 250 a year for a village dispensary, proposals have been submitted to the Government for the establishment of seven thana headquarters and 30 village dispensaries in the district. If the Government be pleased to sanction these proposals, the district will have a fair supply of medical relief for the suffering poor, to save whom from the ravages of Malaria and other epidemics the District Board has been most anxious.

18. Our Sadar and Rampurhat Hospitals, notwithstanding all the help that the District Board can possibly render to them, are in want of funds owing chiefly to their growing popularity and a consequent influx of patients. To meet this want to some extent, an appeal has been made to all the Union Boards in the district to contribute at least a rupee a month each towards the maintenance of these two hospitals. Some of the Union Boards have responded to this. The Sadar Hospital has no nurses, and to remove this

want the Civil Surgeon submitted a scheme to the Government for training a few male nurses which would have involved an annual expenditure of Rs. 3,000 only. The Government has not been able to sanction this grant owing to financial stringency. As the idea of leaving as many as 16 patients in the hospital without any nurse to attend to them is very unsatisfactory, the District Board has, by an adjustment of its expenditure on other heads, resolved to train at least four male nurses a year and the system has already been introduced. The approximate cost of this will be Rs. 1,000 a year.

19. The District Board has made vaccination free and vaccination centres have been opened throughout the district and the necessary staff has been appointed. In obedience to a circular issued by the Department of Local Self-Government, a proposal has been submitted for the suggested Government contribution which the District Board most eagerly awaits.

20. With the help of Mr. Biss, the Special Officer for Primary Education, Bengal, the District Board prepared schemes for the introduction of free primary education into two unions as an experimental measure, and proposals were submitted to the Educational Department for final sanction of the Government contribution of half the cost of maintenance, the other half being guaranteed by the Union Boards and the District Board. A long time has since elapsed and the District Board still awaits the final orders of the Government in this respect. The Board has again been preparing, with the help of Mr. Biss and his staff, the schemes for the introduction of free primary education into most of the unions of the

district and hopes to attain some appreciable results in this direction before long.

21. The district has 174 unions in 171 of which Union Boards have been established. Last year although almost all the Union Boards assessed under section 37(b), yet owing to the activities of the Khelafat and Non-co-operation movements, the rate-payers refused to pay all taxes. For a time the district was in a state of great excitement and lawlessness was apprehended at every moment. At such a crisis came to the district our worthy Magistrate, Mr. J. R. Blackwood, I.C.S., who, with great tact and perseverance and at a great personal inconvenience and discomfort, visited even the remotest corners of the district and brought back peace and order, and realized the taxes to the last farthing. Mr. Blackwood has thus placed the District Board under a great obligation by bringing the Union Boards back into working order and the Union Boards have since then commenced to show their usefulness in various ways. The Union Boards assessed last year under section 37(b) to the extent of about Rs. 56,000 and the District Board made a grant of Rs. 19,000 to them. The income of pounds has been made over to them and a contribution of Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 each has generally been made from the District Fund. Some of the Union Boards have shown considerable capacity for self-government by assessing themselves sufficiently to enable them either to start a charitable dispensary or a middle-class English school, or to introduce free primary education. All primary schools have been made over to them with grants from the District Fund and almost all the Union Boards have commenced

taking an interest in them. Proposals have been submitted to the Government for the establishment of Union Benches and Courts in 39 unions of the district with a view to making the people more self-governing and to add to the income of the Union Boards.

22. The subject of imposition of a cart-tax by District Boards is under the consideration of the Government at present. This district has got about 70,000 carts and a license-fee of even a rupee a year per cart will mean an annual income of Rs. 70,000 which, when divided amongst the several Union Boards of the district, will add to their income by about Rs. 400 a year each.

23. The work of inoculation in cases of cattle epidemics in the mufassal is being increasingly appreciated by the public everyday, and the demand on the District Board fund to meet the increased cost of serum has been so great that the District Board cannot meet it with its limited means. As the pound income has been made over to the Union Boards, the District Board suggested to them to meet at least partially the cost of the serum either from this income or by a contribution from the people who would be benefited by the inoculation. Some of the Union Boards have responded to it.

24. The District Board has a very limited income and has as usual various important departments to maintain. If more attention is paid to one or some of them the other departments have necessarily to be starved. For this reason, the income of the Board has to be increased and we applied to the Government for the revaluation of our road and public works

cesses, but we have been told to wait till the settlement operations are over which, we are afraid, will mean a considerable delay.

25. The collieries which are being opened in the western part of the district, will add to our income to some extent in the course of the next few years. Although we have been trying to show self-help as much as we can, yet for immediate relief we have to approach the Government with the prayer that the augmentation grant which is at present one-fourth of the road-cess income of the district should be distributed on a different principle. We would respectfully suggest that the poorer districts should have a greater proportionate share of the augmentation grants than the richer ones.

26. The Department of Industries kindly sanctioned a peripatetic weaving school for the district; and as there are two instructors attached to it, the Board has started, with the permission of the Department, a weaving school, permanently located at Suri, with one of the instructors as its teacher and has purchased a few more looms than those supplied by the Government. The other instructor has been moving about with some looms in the interior of the district to teach local weavers the improved method of weaving by fly-shuttle looms. The District Board has supplied to the weaving school of Suri a temporary house and has resolved to build a suitable house for the school, at a cost of about Rs. 6,500 within the court compound. The foundation-stone of the proposed building was laid by the Hon'ble Nawab Saiyid Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., the Minister of Agriculture and Industries, on the 12th April 1922.

27. The Department of Industries was also pleased to recommend a permanent weaving school for this district, to be maintained at the cost of the Government, provided the District Board would supply the necessary buildings and meet the other incidental costs. The Board agreed to all this; but the final approval of the Government has been kept pending, perhaps, owing to the present financial stringency. We have also applied for another peripatetic weaving school for the district, as the number of weaving centres is more than can be managed by one school.

28. As regards our municipality, we beg most humbly to submit that the drainage scheme which was approved of by the Government, could not be completed as yet, as the promised loan of Rs. 22,000 and the grant of Rs. 11,000 for the purpose have not yet been received by us. The scheme has been pending for the last six years. The municipality is anxious to take up the work as soon as possible.

29. In connection with the waterworks, we beg to submit that we can take up the initial scheme only which will cost Rs. 1,60,700, one-third of which the Government has been pleased to sanction as a grant. But it is apprehended that a waterworks, according to the initial scheme only, will be insufficient to supply water to the whole of the municipal area. Thus the municipality will have to take up in the near future the complete scheme which has been prepared by the Chief Engineer, Public Health Department. The estimated cost of this scheme will be Rs. 2,76,900. To meet this expenditure, the municipality has no other alternative than to approach the Government for a special grant of about a lakh of rupees, when, the

Government will be in a position to help the municipality in the matter which, it is hoped, will be in the near future.

30. There has been of late a demand for vocational education of our boys, and a scheme for the establishment of an industrial school to teach the boys of the three schools of the town in Carpentry and Smithy was prepared, the initial and recurring costs of which were Rs. 8,000 and Rs. 3,600, respectively. The scheme was submitted to the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education and nothing has been heard from him as yet. The District Board and the Municipality can jointly contribute at most half of these expenses and have to look to the Government for the other half.

31. We have submitted to Your Excellency all our conditions and our different needs and wants, and we have also submitted that we have approached the respective departments in connection with them.

32. When we have the good fortune to-day of having Your Excellency in our midst, it is only natural for us to appeal to Your Excellency for Your Excellency's generous support and patronage in all our humble efforts of self-government.

Finally, we heartily thank Your Excellency for having honoured our district with a visit which will be ever cherished in our grateful memory, and we fervently pray that Your Excellency's tenure of office may continue undisturbed and prosperous, and that Your Excellency may enjoy long life, health and happiness.

*Address presented by the Members of the
Anjumane Mazakerai Islamia, Birbhum, on
15th January 1923.*

1. We, the members of the Anjumane Mozakerai Islamia, Birbhum, on behalf of the Moslem public of the district, respectfully beg to offer Your Excellency our loyal and cordial welcome on the auspicious occasion of Your Excellency's first visit to Suri.

2. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to assure Your Excellency that though we are ever straightforward in giving clear expression to our feelings and thoughts in all matters whether economic, political or religious, we yield to none in the land in our firm and unswerving devotion and loyalty to the august person and throne of His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor. Nothing could, therefore, be more a source of sincere joy and gratification to us than to find most cordial relation based on strict principles of justice and equity firmly established between Great Britain and all the Moslem States in general, and Turkey in particular.

3. As loyal subjects of the Empire, we feel it our duty to raise our plaintive and doleful voice, however feeble it may prove to be, to appeal to Your Excellency, and through Your Excellency to His Most Gracious Majesty's Imperial Government, for the release of all the political prisoners excepting those who were guilty of any deeds of violence; it being our earnest prayer that the reputation of British justice may ever remain unimpaired and

untarnished to serve as a lasting example to the nations of the world.

4. Your Excellency, the Moslems are ever grateful to the Government for the issue of various circular orders from time to time to give them adequate share of appointments in all the departments of public services under it. But with so many Moslem graduates in law, their almost absence in the Judicial Branch of the Provincial Service is a matter of extreme regret. Their claims in the services under the Railway and Postal Departments also hardly receive any just and sympathetic consideration, though the numbers of qualified candidates are daily increasing and the Secretary of the Anjumane can readily supply them when required.

5. Your Excellency, the district of Birbhum, a few years before, was reputed to be one of the healthiest and prosperous districts of West Bengal. But unfortunately it has of late, particularly the last three years, suffered heavily from the visitations of various diseases which in major cases ended fatally, decreasing the population to an appalling extent. The poor classes were thereby mostly affected, and so the dearth of labourers is evident in every part of the district which adversely affects the agricultural prospects of this part of the country. Again the deficient rainfall from year to year adds to the growing miseries of the people of the place who are mostly agricultural. The resources at the disposal of the District Board fall far too short to combat with these unusual calamities. The few dispensaries here and there without requisite medicines to treat even the simple cases are worse than useless. They

have become things more for show than for any useful purpose. The old village tanks, having been gradually silted up, the deficiency of irrigation is being everywhere keenly felt.

6. It would thus appear that the valuable labours of so many agricultural officers go for nothing. The individual effort to improve these tanks by taking out their mud to manure the fields do hardly meet with the heavy demand of irrigation facilities needed every year almost in every part of the district. We, therefore, respectfully beg to submit the following suggestions for Your Excellency's favourable consideration. The first and foremost is the urgent need of effecting substantial savings in the income of the District Board. This may be done by exercising utmost economy in the Board's expenditure under head "Establishment," and the abolition of the Local Boards. With the establishment of Union Boards all over the district charged with the administration of primary education and the maintenance of village roads, as well as with the works of village sanitation and water-supply, there remains practically little work for the Local Boards at present. The work of the District Board, being also thereby considerably lightened, its staff may be economically reduced and those left may be entrusted with the supervision of the works done by the Union Boards, besides attending to the execution of the especially important works done under its direct control. The savings thus effected and every other saving may be advantageously kept earmarked to supply medical relief and to afford facilities for irrigation. Secondly, in the matter of medical relief, again we humbly beg to suggest that the Board ought to have a free

hand in choosing between the several modes of treatment, viz., Ayurvedic, Unani and Homœopathic, besides the Allopathic one. This would enable the Board to relieve the suffering humanity in a far extensive scale than it is at present possible with expensive drugs and costly establishments.

7. We further beg respectfully to submit to Your Excellency that to secure popular representation in the District Board it is essential that its members should be directly elected by those declared to be qualified as voters as is done in the case of election for Council. These are the matters that vitally affect the interest of the mass, and so we sanguinely hope they would receive Your Excellency's sympathetic consideration.

In conclusion, we once again beg to accord Your Excellency our hearty welcome to this town and pray for Your Excellency's long life of health and prosperity.

*Address presented by the Members of the District
Agricultural Association of Birbhum, on 15th
January 1923. . . .*

1. We, the members of the District Agricultural Association of Birbhum and the representatives of its Branch Agricultural Associations, on behalf of ourselves and the agriculturists of this district, respectfully beg to accord our loyal and hearty welcome to Your Excellency on this auspicious occasion of Your Excellency's gracious visit to our district.

2. The District Agricultural Association was founded in 1905 with a handful of members and their activities were confined amongst themselves only up to 1917; but the importance of extending its scope amongst the great masses of the people became imperative and the system of Branch Agricultural Associations was introduced in 1918 throughout the district with the object of fostering a spirit of real co-operation in all the aspects of rural activities, such as, re-excavation of silted-up tanks, collective indent of seeds and manures, mutual exchange of ideas and experience, and, above all, serving as a medium through which the officers of the Agricultural Department might co-operate with the agriculturists of the district.

3. The most tangible result of the working of these Branch Agricultural Associations has been the dissemination of agricultural knowledge amongst the mass. A general awakening has now taken place amongst the people of the district in the matter of

the urgency of enhancing the produce of their soil, by the use of different varieties of manure and of providing adequate means of irrigation. A great progress has been made by these Branch Agricultural Associations in the supply of seeds and manures, and the cultivators have been able to produce from their own plots over three lakhs of *tana* sugar-cane cuttings and have thus been able to meet their own demands to a great extent. It has, however, been apprehended that the Branch Agricultural Associations may succumb in the long run, unless they are registered under the Co-operative Societies Act, and it has been proposed to register all new and as many as possible old Agricultural Associations.

4. In order to stimulate and co-ordinate the work of individual farmer, and the Branch Agricultural Associations, a quarterly vernacular journal, *Bhumilakshi*, is published under the auspices of the District Agricultural Association, and it is most gratifying to note that it is doing very good work not only in this district, but many other districts as well, and the total number of subscribers is 410.

5. We need hardly submit that in Birbhum, as well as in other parts of West Bengal, the most important agricultural problem is a sufficient provision of irrigation facilities. The District Board of Birbhum, in conjunction with the District Agricultural Association, has been striving very hard for the re-excavation of silted-up tanks and construction of canals and of weirs and dams across rivers. They will have an occasion of approaching the Government for a loan of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees for the purpose, and we, the representatives of the cultivating classes

of this district, fully endorse their views and pray to Your Excellency for 'sympathetic and generous support.

6. We beg to submit that the extensive damage caused to the agricultural land and crops owing to the breaches in the zamindary embankments along the rivers of this district, call for a speedy repair of those embankments. We understand that proposals for the repair of some of those embankments have been pending with the Public Works Department for the last few years, and we pray that the repair of these embankments may now be taken in hand without delay.

7. We further pray that inasmuch as the settlement operations have commenced in the district, in order to facilitate the conservation and repair of irrigation tanks, and to prevent them from being converted into paddy lands, to the detriment of those having irrigation right in them, Your Excellency's Government will be pleased to direct the Settlement Department to prepare a comprehensive record-of-rights in these tanks, *i.e.*, to note the nature, number and situation of irrigation pits, and to demarcate the boundary line of lands receiving water from respective tanks. Provision should also be made to allow the raiyats to purchase and sell their lands according to their necessities, reserving 25 per cent. premium for their landlords.

8. The district has not lagged behind in respect of agricultural education, and when in 1921 the Ckinsura Agricultural School was started, out of 15 students on its roll 13 were contributed by this

district. Out of 18 students of the present second-year class, six belong to this district and the remaining 12 to eight other districts of the Presidency.

9. A scheme for the establishment of primary agricultural schools throughout the Presidency is under the consideration of the Government and two or three public-spirited gentlemen of the district have volunteered to start aided primary agricultural schools and the foundation-stone of the building of a primary agricultural school at Sultanpur was laid by the Hon'ble Minister of Agriculture on the 12th of April 1922.

10. We approached the Government on previous occasions for appointing an Agricultural Engineer to help us in the execution of our irrigation schemes and we are very much thankful that the Engineer has recently been appointed.

11. To ascertain the particular varieties of paddy and other staple crops and manures, suitable for the high laterite and the low-lying clayey soils of the district, a demonstration and experimental farm was very badly needed, and we are deeply grateful to the Government for establishing this farm, and for thus giving a fresh impetus and encouragement for further agricultural development of the district. In this connection we beg to submit that the suggestions of the District Agricultural Association regarding the cropping schemes of the farm may be taken into consideration by the Agricultural Department. We also pray that Your Excellency's Government will be pleased to direct the Agricultural Department to make dairying a part of this farm.

12. The District Agricultural Association beg to express their gratefulness for the keen interest our President, Mr. J. R. Blackwood, I.C.S., takes in all branches of agricultural development of this district.

13. Finally, we thank Your Excellency again for the proud privilege given to us of presenting Your Excellency with this humble address and we pray for Your Excellency's long life, health and prosperity.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Addresses
presented at Suri, on 15th January 1923.***

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you most sincerely for the generous words of welcome you have used in your address and for the expression of your loyalty towards the throne and person of His Majesty the King-Emperor, whom I have the honour to represent in this province.

I have already visited a number of districts in Eastern Bengal and at each of them I learnt of difficulties with regard to drinking water, medical relief and education similar to those of which you speak in your addresses. At all those places I pointed out that local initiative was an indispensable preliminary condition to the solution of these difficult problems, and I have intentionally selected Birbhum as the first district to visit in Western Bengal, because from all I have been able to learn about it, your district has set a very notable example in self-help and I am anxious to see the work you have been doing.

I agree with you in thinking that the terrible mortality from Malaria is due in great measure to the enfeebled condition of the people and that foremost amongst the preventive measures to be taken against it, must be placed the provision of good drinking-water and an adequate supply of food, since a well-nourished population is better able to resist the attacks of this disease. It is deplorable that the drinking water tanks and irrigation tanks should

have been allowed to silt up and fall into disuse; and this is an illustration of the evils which result from the want of local organization. I am glad that you have realized the remedy required and I congratulate you on the number of tanks that you have already succeeded in re-excavating. I hope you will also take steps to see that they are now maintained and properly used by the villagers!

Government will certainly help where such excellent local activity is to be found. You have asked for a loan of a lakh of rupees for this purpose and in a normal year we should have no difficulty in granting it at once. This year, however, the demands made on Government for loans to meet the exceptional disaster caused by floods in Rajshahi make it difficult for us to comply with your request immediately. You will, I am sure, admit that the needs of that district, which has suffered so severely in the past year, should be considered first, and if we cannot grant you the loan at once that is the reason, and not either unwillingness or want of sympathy with your needs. Indeed, as you all know, the financial difficulties of the Government at the present moment are very great, and this is probably the most serious problem of the moment. The cost of administration has increased to a most alarming degree in recent years, and although taxation is heavy the revenue, which it produces, is not sufficient for the productive enterprises and ameliorative measures which are so urgently needed. Everywhere evils are revealed which cry out for remedy. When I visit different parts of this province, I see ignorance which requires to be enlightened, disease which has to be fought, suffering which should be relieved, industries that

could be improved—but in every case the remedy, though apparent, is expensive and cannot be provided. Wherever I go I am asked for help, but help means money and I have none to give. This difficulty is causing me and my Government the greatest anxiety, and I beg you also to consider it and to help me to find a solution. • In the first place, the cost of administration must be reduced in order that a larger proportion of our existing revenue may be available for the purposes I have referred to. In that matter I took the first step immediately after my arrival by appointing a Retrenchment Committee to advise me how to reduce expenditure. The Chairman of your District Board was a member of it. The report of that Committee will be published to-morrow. Its members have done their work with great thoroughness and expedition, and I am very grateful to them. We only received the report last week and we have lost no time in making its contents known to the public. For the support of the public will be required in carrying out such of the recommendations as Government may decide to accept. On the merits of the proposals I make no comment as we have not yet had time to study them, but I can say here and now that my Government will do their utmost to reduce the cost of administration, and they are confident that the labours of this Committee will be of great service in helping them to do so. That is the first point.

The next greatest need is to secure, as large a measure as possible, of voluntary public service. You are well aware of the needs of your district and they are repeated in every district in the province. If you look to Government to satisfy them all, you

will be disappointed, and, moreover, if Government were to undertake all these responsibilities, the numbers of paid officials it must employ, would be increased instead of diminished. Let the watchword of every district, therefore, be: "We will owe as little as possible to Government. We will do as much as we can for ourselves." Here, too, is a task which should appeal to all. There are some, I know, who do not like to co-operate with Government, but if all the men and women in each district will co-operate with each other in subscribing to local needs, in relieving local distress, in providing local requirements, in organizing local effort, then will your land flourish and "blossom as the rose," and your people will rejoice and be happy.

The last point which will require the attention both of Government and of private enterprise is the creation of new wealth, the improvement of existing methods of production, and the establishment of new productive industries.

Those are the three remedies which seem to me to promise the quickest and most effective relief from the financial embarrassment from which the whole country is suffering at the present moment—reduced expenditure, organized local effort, and improved production. I can promise you that Government will do its share in providing these remedies if the public in each district will also co-operate.

I have ventured to make these general remarks in this place because you have already shown by your example in Birbhum that you appreciate the value of co-operation and you are devoting your attention to the improvement of your agriculture and

irrigation system on these lines. I feel sure, therefore, that here at least I shall not be misunderstood.

Let me now turn to some of the specific matters which are mentioned in your addresses. I shall not say much about them, because from the general remarks I have made you will have gathered what is the attitude of Government towards them all, and if I am not able to promise you all the financial help which you have asked for, you will appreciate the reason. You have asked for assistance towards the construction of your waterworks and wish to take up the complete scheme at once. As you have admitted in your address the initial scheme, which is self-contained and not dependent on the completion of the full scheme, has not yet been carried out and Government is not disposed to ask the Legislative Council to make a grant for the more ambitious scheme until the preliminary one has been carried out.

I congratulate the District Board on the ready response which they have given to the offer of grants-in-aid for the establishment of village dispensaries and on their enthusiasm for the expansion of medical relief, but financial considerations have limited the funds at our disposal and I anticipate that it will not be possible to give grants to meet the whole of your programme.

I trust that the Board's estimate of the value of such dispensaries is better justified than that given by the Anjuman.

Government will watch with interest the experiment which the District Board have undertaken of training male nurses. I am glad to see that you have

appealed to Union Boards to contribute towards the maintenance of your two hospitals and that the appeal has met with some success. The difficulty of maintaining hospitals is one that is felt throughout the province, but in this matter, as in so many others, you have not hesitated to take the initiative and by charging a small fee from the patients you have taken a practical step towards balancing your accounts.

You ask that two surveyors may be provided to help in the preparation of a scheme of irrigation. An Agricultural Engineer has been appointed who is now working mainly in Bankura, but when necessity arises he can be deputed to Birbhum and an Inspector, with the requisite qualifications, is also being posted to your district.

I am glad to hear of the interest taken in, and the success achieved by, the peripatetic weaving school and I hope that this will meet your requirements until Government is in a position to establish a permanent school.

Your district is to be congratulated on the public spirit and generosity of its residents, and I understand that Rai Abinash Chandra Banarji Bahadur, Chairman of the District Board, has already undertaken to bear all costs for the buildings and cattle of a farm school at Sultanpur. I had hoped to be able to express my appreciation of his generosity when I visited Sultanpur, and I greatly regret that I have been unable to fit this visit into my programme.

The District Agricultural Association may, indeed, be proud of its activities in the way of improving the agricultural conditions of the district; in fact it has

led the way in this direction. Its policy of confining the limits of each Branch Association to small manageable areas has been justified by its results. The wisdom of organizing such associations on a co-operative basis has been recognized by Government, and the matter is engaging the close attention of both the Agriculture and Co-operative Departments.

I can assure you that Government appreciate the work that is being done by the Association and the Agriculture Department will welcome its suggestions regarding the policy of the Suri Farm, which I am to have the pleasure of opening late in the morning: we shall welcome them not only because of the value of the suggestions themselves, but also because they indicate the interest that the public are taking in the farm and in the work of the department. That department must, of course, reserve to itself the right of final decision, but it will give fair and sympathetic attention to any proposal that you make for the improvement of the farm and its work.

You ask that dairying may be made a part of the farm's work. Government has long been impressed with the need for improving the supply of milk in the province, and with this object your Collector, who was then Director of Agriculture, established a cattle-breeding farm at Rangpur. The results of that farm are most promising and it will soon be possible to send out pedigree animals from it to other parts of the province. Although it is not possible to promise a dairy at the Suri Farm immediately, I think I can say that it will not be long before you have here the nucleus of a pedigree dairy herd.

Perhaps the chief problem in the district is the utilization of existing waterways for irrigating the

paddy-fields and the question mainly resolves itself into one of storing the water. This can be accomplished both by re-excavating existing tanks and by damming up the water in rivers and streams. The former object you propose to achieve by establishing Co-operative Irrigation Societies and for the latter you require expert advice. I am afraid we have not been able to give you the surveyors for whom you ask, but I hope the services of the Agricultural officer will be of assistance.

I understand that a number of Co-operative Irrigation Societies will shortly be registered; this is highly satisfactory, and excellent results may be expected from their work.

The Agriculture Department are fully alive to the importance of this question of irrigation and they are giving special attention to the treatment of the high land near the farm. It is hoped that, if their experiments prove successful, similar treatment can be applied throughout the district, and it should have the effect not only of bringing into cultivation a large area of land, which is at present unproductive, but also of holding up the water, so as to conserve the supply of moisture in the transplanted paddy-lands. I do not wish to appear too sanguine, but I hope that its effects may reach further and may minimise the sudden freshets to which rivers like the Damodar are liable, and thus moderate the destructive floods from which low-lying tracts in other districts suffer.

The two schemes which the District Board have sent up for the introduction of free primary education, have now been sanctioned, and I hope you may shortly be able to make a beginning in this direction. Here

again, however, the disastrous floods in Rajshahi and Bogra must necessitate the diversion to those districts of funds, which might otherwise have been spent here and elsewhere. For instance, it will be necessary to rebuild the primary schools which were destroyed by those floods and, therefore, little money will be available for similar objects elsewhere.

You deplore the delay involved in waiting for the completion of the settlement operations before the road and public works cesses are increased, but I think it is to your advantage to wait. For the use of the complete record-of-rights as a basis for the cess re-valuation will, undoubtedly, result in considerable increase of cess.

The attention of the Settlement Department has been drawn to your request for a comprehensive record regarding tanks, and the question of the sale of raiyati holdings engaged the very serious attention of the Bengal Tenancy Act Committee and will be duly considered by Government.

I am very glad to hear that the people have now become reconciled to Union Boards and that the infant institutions, whose existence was threatened last year, are now securely established. They appear to be realizing their responsibilities in the matter of assessment, and the responsibility for imposing additional taxation, when it is required, should rest entirely with them. You tell me that they have assessed themselves sufficiently to enable them to open a school or a dispensary, but, if I may offer a word of advice, I would suggest that existing institutions should be placed on a sound financial basis before an ambitious programme of expansion is adopted.

I am delighted to hear that these boards have made a good start in this district as the best hope for the success of self-government is that it should grow upwards from the village.

With regard to the establishment of Union Benches and Courts, I can promise that the applications will be promptly dealt with as soon as they are received.

There are some other points in your addresses to which I have not alluded, but I beg you to believe that they are all receiving the attention of the departments of Government to which they have been referred.

In conclusion, I should like to congratulate the bodies which have presented these addresses on the progressive spirit which animates their work and administration. I can assure you that it is more pleasant for a Governor to be met by local bodies with the message: "Come and see what we have done and are doing," than merely with the words, "Come and hear what we want."

I am glad to note the appreciative terms in which you refer to the services of Mr. Blackwood: the district is fortunate, I think, in having as its Collector a man who is both an expert and an enthusiast.

I shall certainly try and pay a second visit to this district before I leave Bengal and I hope when I come again you will have still further proofs to give of your local enterprise and progress.

***His Excellency's Speech at the opening of
the Agricultural Farm at Surl, on 15th
January 1923.***

GENTLEMEN,

It gives me great pleasure to come here to-day to open the new Agricultural Farm.

When Lord Ronaldshay visited your district in 1920, a request was made to him for the establishment of an agricultural farm. This request was promptly acceded to and the foundation-stone was laid by the Hon'ble Minister in 1921. I think, therefore, you may be satisfied with the ready response which Government have given to your request. It shows that a Governor's visit to a district has valuable results and that the requests made in the addresses presented on such occasions serve a useful purpose in bringing the special needs of the district to the notice of the authorities. As funds permit, it is intended to establish an agricultural farm in each district, and although this is not the first farm to be established, it may be regarded as an earnest of Government's policy and of the interest they take in the improvement of local agricultural conditions.

I listened with great interest to the sketch of the farm, which has just been read.

You tell me that demonstration work has already been carried out in this district since 1909, an Agricultural Officer being appointed in 1915 to supervise and guide these demonstrations. Experiments have already been made in various kinds

of manure, sugar-cane, tobacco, paddy and potatoes, as well as in the use of different types of implements. The establishment of this farm will give greater facilities for carrying out these experiments and discovering the methods and seeds best suited to the district. For instance, one of the objects of the farm will be to discover, by scientific research and experience, which among the 100 varieties of paddy are superior for general purposes to the others.

There are two problems which you mention as being of supreme importance, namely, the need of water for irrigation purposes and the increase of good milk-yielding cows. These matters were mentioned in the addresses presented to me this morning on my arrival and I have already given an indication of Government's views on the subjects.

I need not say that I shall watch with great interest the results of this farm, and I hope it will have the effect of co-ordinating and concentrating the efforts of all those interested in the agricultural welfare of the district. If I am able to pay another visit to your district, I shall look forward to seeing the progress that has been made.

I now declare the Suri Agricultural Farm open.

Address presented by the Birbhum Central Co-operative Bank, Limited, on 15th January 1923.

1. We, the Directors of the Birbhum Central Co-operative Bank, Limited, representing the members of the said Bank, most respectfully and humbly beg to accord our loyal and hearty welcome to Your Excellency on this occasion of Your Excellency's gracious visit to this district.

2. Your Excellency, we feel proud of the privilege which has been so graciously conceded by Your Excellency to this Association of approaching Your Excellency with our humble address of welcome. This privilege, we assure Your Excellency, will, no doubt, act as a great stimulus for the movement which is solely meant for the economic and moral development of the people through a system of organized associations established by their own combined exertions.

3. With Your Excellency's permission we will now make a brief recital of our work and of our aim and ideals.

4. In the year 1917, the people of the Sadar subdivision of this district and the Government officials of the district and of the Co-operative Department, headed by Rai J. M. Mitra Bahadur, felt the necessity of starting a Co-operative Central Bank in the Sadar subdivision, and as a result of their kind exertions this Bank came into existence. Under the guidance of our worthy Chairman, Mr. J. R. Blackwood, I.C.S., this Bank is steadily progressing in its activities

which will be apparent from the number of societies organized in the first year of its existence which was only 19 and the present number is 95. The demand for organizing more societies from every corner of the Sadar subdivision is numerous. The working capital of the Birbhum Central Co-operative Bank, Limited, is at present Rs. 80,635-9-6 which is composed mainly of fixed deposits.

5. The Birbhum Central Co-operative Bank, Limited, enjoyed the privilege of the service of one supervisor whose pay and travelling expenses were all borne by the Government from the co-operative allotment sanctioned in the provincial budget estimate, but from last year we have been deprived of the privilege for the revival of which we have approached the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Bengal, and we expect a favourable consideration from him.

6. Although the western co-operative banking principle is a new thing to the general people of this district, they are gradually realizing the spirit of co-operation, and the unnecessary dread for the "joint and several liability," which is the basic principle of co-operative societies, has greatly disappeared from the minds of the rural people who generally come under the protection of this benevolent institution.

7. Further, we beg to submit to Your Excellency that with the development of the co-operative movement, difficulties are daily cropping up which cannot be solved with the Co-operative Societies Act in its present form. We, therefore, take this opportunity to bring to Your Excellency's kind notice that to safeguard the movement, as well as to direct its activities in healthier lines, the following amendments

and further legislation appear in our humble opinion to be urgently necessary:—

- (i) Amendment of the Co-operative Societies Act so as to empower the Registrar of Co-operative Societies to impose fines on recalcitrant members or to expel them from their respective societies.
- (ii) Amendment of the Public Demands Recovery Act in such a way as to make it applicable to the recovery of the dues of a society from its individual members
- (iii) Extending the scope of the Public Demands Recovery Act so as to bring the execution of the awards of the Arbitrators appointed under section 43 of the Co-operative Societies Act II of 1912 within the purview of the said Act.
- (iv) Amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act so as to enable Co-operative Societies to bring occupancy holdings to sale for the default of the members.

8. The Birbhum Central Co-operative Bank is now directing its activities in the development of irrigation societies under the able guidance of its Chairman, Mr. J. R. Blackwood, I.C.S. Through his kind help 12 societies have been registered in the course of last two months and many more are in the course of formation.

9. The Birbhum Central Co-operative Bank, Limited, is thankful to Your Excellency's Government for kindly deputing one extra officer for helping the organization of irrigation societies which are expected to do substantial good to the agriculturists of this district.

10. Lastly, we are much grateful to Your Excellency's Government for the immense help that it has been pleased to render to the Department of Co-operation which is the only institution to come forward for helping the poor agricultural population at the time of their distress and want.

11. Finally, we thank Your Excellency again for the proud privilege given to us for presenting Your Excellency with this humble address and we pray for Your Excellency's long life, health and prosperity.

Address presented by the Rampurhat Central Co-operative Bank, on 15th January 1923.

1. We, the Directors of the Rampurhat Central Co-operative Bank, Limited, on behalf of the members of the Co-operative Societies of the subdivision of Rampurhat in the district of Birbhum, numbering 7,455 persons, respectfully crave Your Excellency's kind permission to avail ourselves of this opportunity to offer Your Excellency our loyal, cordial and whole-hearted welcome on the auspicious and happy occasion of Your Excellency's most benign visit to our poor district for the first time.

2. We beg to avail ourselves further of this opportunity to express our firm and unswerving loyalty and devotion to the august person and throne of His Imperial Majesty our beloved King-Emperor.

* 3. We are, indeed, happy to find that the kind Providence has been pleased to place the control of the destinies of the people of this Presidency under the benevolent rule of so popular and sympathetic a Governor as Your Excellency, whose earnest solicitude to secure the advancement and prosperity of the people, so fortunately placed under Your Excellency's charge, is discernible in every direction.

4. The majority of the members of our co-operative societies are agriculturists by occupation and a very limited number of them are artisans. On account of the partial failure of crops for want of timely rain in the years 1921, 1920 and 1919 and the outbreak of Malaria and Influenza, their economic and physical condition has become lamentable. The said

maladies have taken heavy toll from them. The sanitary condition and water-supply is anything but satisfactory in the villages, and the local fund authorities, on account of the scantiness of their resources, have failed to do anything material in these respects. The agriculture is also going on in the same way as before, as without timely rain nothing can be done to grow crops or increase the outturn. Therefore the members of the co-operative societies find that without co-operation in these matters no improvement can be expected or looked for. Our worthy and sympathetic District Magistrate, Mr. J. R. Blackwood, has taken the initiative in the matter of organizing Co-operative Irrigation Societies. Our Central Bank is in a position to finance these societies without limit if adequate security be forthcoming. If the project of irrigation societies prove successful and the villages be covered with net work of such societies, we hope that the great problem of water-supply as well as irrigation will be solved. Our members are poor and unable to make two ends meet from their income, and they sit idle when agricultural operation is over. In order to enable them to supplement their income and provide work during unemployed hours, a scheme for training them in useful and money-making crafts, such as weaving and wicker work, etc., is under contemplation, but we are not in a position to provide teachers without the help of the Government. The provision relating to non-transferability of occupancy raiyoti-holdings and the restriction on the power of cutting down trees planted by raiyats on their holdings has caused a good deal of discontent among our members, and these provisions have become a fruitful source of

litigation and cause of ruin and harassment of many a family. Though this matter is receiving attention of the authorities, we are sorry to say that no Bill on the subject as yet has been introduced in the Legislative Council. It is our prayer that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to see that necessary amendments in the law be made during the life of the present Legislative Council.

5. We, in conclusion, once again humbly and respectfully beg to offer Your Excellency our most cordial welcome and pray for Your Excellency's good health and long life.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Deputation
from Birbhum and Rampurhat Central
Banks, on 15th January 1923.***

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you for the welcome you have so kindly accorded me in your addresses, and let me tell you in reply how glad I am of the opportunity you have afforded me of expressing my appreciation of your work. I have studied the working of co-operative societies in England, in Ireland and in Denmark, and I am convinced that in the establishment and successful working of such institutions lies the best hope for the prosperity of an agricultural community like ours in Bengal. I have heard of Birbhum as the home of the co-operative movement, and I am glad of this opportunity of making the personal acquaintance of those who are responsible for its success. It is gratifying to learn that the movement is spreading as is shown not only in the number of the societies, but also in the scope of their work.

I congratulate you on the progress you have made, but I would warn you against the tendency of all enthusiasts to expand too rapidly. To consolidate your work, as you go along, is even more important than to expand your operations.

The requests that you make to me are few. The Birbhum Bank asks that the expenses of one supervisor may again be paid by Government. The loss of this help is really a tribute to your progress. The Government's attitude which is fully in accord with the spirit of the movement is that this privilege

should only be given to institutions while they are in their infancy, and that as soon as they are firmly established, it should be withdrawn, so as to enable other Banks to have this assistance.

I cannot, I am afraid, sympathise with your request that the Registrar should have power to impose fines or expel members. It is an essential feature of a successful co-operative movement that each society should be responsible for the actions of its own members, and your proposal would destroy the autonomy of individual societies and impair their co-operative spirit.

The question of extending the scope of the Public Demands Recovery Act, so as to bring the execution of arbitrator's awards within its purview, is a difficult one and has long been under consideration. An early decision is, I think, called for and it will be communicated to you shortly. As you know the amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act has been recently before a committee and no doubt the point you raise regarding it has been considered; I am aware that the non-transferability of occupancy holdings has been an obstacle to co-operative societies, but many points of view have to be considered.

The Rampurhat Bank has referred especially to Co-operative Irrigation Societies of which, I understand, 13 have been registered in Birbhum; Government is fully alive to the possibilities in this direction, and have shown this by the deputation of officers for their organization, but the requisite strengthening of the staff throughout the province has been hampered by the unfortunate position in which we find ourselves financially.

The Registrar is in communication with the Director of Industries, and together they are working out a practicable scheme for introducing suitable home industries.

I thank you again for your addresses, and assure you of my sympathy with your work and prayers for its continued success.

*Address presented by the Commissioners of the
Municipal Board of Burdwan, on 17th January
1923.*

1. As Commissioners of the Municipal Board, it is our proud privilege, on behalf of the citizens of Burdwan, to offer Your Excellency and the Countess of Lytton a most cordial and warm welcome on the occasion of your first visit to this town, which was once a landscape in the history of Moghul Emperors and grew and flourished long before the City of Job Charnock sprung into existence. And the warmth of our welcome is enhanced by the recollection that India was Your Excellency's first home and this country has past connections with Your Excellency's distinguished family.

2. We take this as an opportunity of bringing to Your Excellency's notice that we have made perceptible progress towards the improvement of sanitation of this town by constructing a system of drains within the last few years; but in this respect we are much handicapped by the existence of innumerable filthy tanks within the town, which must either be filled up, as we have done in some cases, or re-excavated at considerable cost. We also entered into a contract with a leading firm of Engineers in Calcutta to get supply of electric energy in our town, and we hope to find our streets and houses lighted with electricity ere long. We are maintaining an efficient high English school, with over 800 boys on its roll, and have started a model upper primary school on the lines suggested by the

educational expert of Your Excellency's Government. But the matters of urgent local importance, which are engaging our attention most, are the improvement of our waterworks, which has become a seriously perplexing problem for some time past, and the establishment of a science college in this town.

3. Our waterworks was started in the year 1884 with the help of a grant from Government and a munificent donation from the Burdwan Raj and the supply of filtered water, though confined to a limited area, has done much to improve the health of the town, since it acquired the notoriety of being the birthplace and nursery-ground of Malarial fever. The town has grown much after the year 1884 and our existing pumping machineries, which are of old type, are utterly inadequate to cope with the present requirements of filtered water; the pipe lines have also become very old and leaky and urgently require renovation and extension; and above all we have a precarious source of supply of water from the Damodar, so much so, that some years in cold weather and dry season the town supply is actually menaced, coming to a point of stoppage. A modest scheme for improving the water-supply, at a cost of about four lakhs of rupees, has been prepared by the Chief Engineer, Public Health Department, Bengal, and up to now with the help of Government we have been able to find only about one-third of the amount, which would be just sufficient to strengthen the head-works alone. We, therefore, pray that Your Excellency's Government may take us out of the difficulty and find means to put our waterworks in an efficient order and on sound basis.

4. The Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, with his characteristic philanthropy, maintains a second-grade college in this town in which only the Arts course is taught; and but for this excellent institution this district would have gone without any indoor means of college education. The necessity of colleges to teach science is a paramount need in this country, for without such education our young men cannot get admission in most branches of higher training. We all recognize the supreme need of industrial development, and even deeper than political reforms lies the great question of the industrial regeneration of this country, which can only be attained through training in the various branches of science. We hope, therefore, that the representation we have already made, or any other we may hereafter make, to Your Excellency's Government in regard to the establishment of a college in this town to teach science, will receive Your Excellency's sympathetic consideration.

5. We are aware, Your Excellency, that the municipal matters are now included in the transferred subjects of Government; but we are at the same time more than conscious that our municipality is in a province of which you are the Ruler and within a Government of which Your Excellency is the head. We, therefore, look upon Your Excellency for guidance and help in all our affairs.

In conclusion, we hope that Your Excellency may have a most successful term of office in this country and that it may be given to your rule to lead Bengal to the zenith of prosperity.

We most sincerely wish that Your Excellencies may fully enjoy your short stay in this town, and once more we accord our most hearty welcome to Your Excellencies.

Address presented by the Members of the District Board of Burdwan, on 17th January 1923.

1. We, the members of the District Board of Burdwan, representing the people of the ancient and historic district, beg leave to offer Your Excellency and Her Excellency the Countess of Lytton a most cordial and loyal welcome on this happy occasion of your first visit amongst us, and having got this opportunity we lay our wants and grievances before Your Lordship.

2. For the last sixty years the Damodar Canal Project is before the Government. The successive Rulers of the Province were graciously pleased to hold out kind hopes to us, and we pray that under your régime the project may be put into effect. Ours is a district which suffers much from Malaria and drought and flood at the one and the same time. By the construction of the canal scores of dead rivers will be rejuvenated and thereby by the process of "Bonificazione" we hope to get rid of the ravages of Malaria from a large part of the district where it prevails. By it we expect to irrigate an extensive area of lands in time of drought and to mitigate the evil effects of the Damodar floods. Not only our district, but also other adjoining districts, such as Hooghly and Howrah, we hope, will be benefited thereby. Parts of the subdivision of Katwa suffer from the floods of the Ajoy and the Kunoor, and we pray, too, for the mitigation of their sufferings at your hands.

3. Sir, since 1918 this Board was allowed to elect its own non-official Chairman and what we could do

is evident from the Government records. We, in order to serve the vast rural area entrusted to our care, have never allowed any undignified factious spirit to mar the harmonious working of the Board, even in cases of difference of opinion. Your Excellency, ours is a happy family whose sole object is to serve the people—and if there has been any success in its administration at all, it is due solely to the hearty co-operation amongst us and officials, especially of Mr. Hart, our present indefatigable district officer and his worthy predecessors.

We again beg to offer Your Excellency and Her Excellency the Countess of Lytton our most loyal and cordial welcome and pray to God that Your Lordship's administration of the Province may be a most successful one and of steady progress towards the goal of every Indian—*Swaraj* under our beloved Sovereign, George V, and his successors.

*Address presented by the Members of the Burdwan
Muhammadan Association, on 17th January
1923.*

1. We, the members of the Burdwan Muhammadan Association, beg leave to offer Your Excellency and Her Excellency Lady Lytton a sincere, hearty and respectful welcome on this occasion of the first visit of Your Excellencies to our ancient and historic town.

2. The Burdwan Muhammadan Association was established in the year 1888 with the object of creating and educating public opinion and promoting concord and harmony between the Mussalmans and other communities in the district and of safeguarding and advancing the best interests of the community by representing the legitimate claims and grievances of the community before the Government and by guiding the community into well-ordered channels of progress and development, and the Muhammadan Association, in spite of various difficulties, is gradually accomplishing its object.

3. The creed of the Association is loyalty to the community ; but it is a loyalty based on a firm and unswerving allegiance to the British Crown. Our Association, which is the only Association in the district recognized by the Government, has a long career of usefulness and activity, and it is a matter of legitimate pride for us to note that, as a result of its continued vigilance, the Muhammadans of this district, though numerically poor, are amongst the most progressive in their community in the Presidency.

4. Burdwan has enjoyed a position of unique importance and respectability from the time of the ancient Moghul Emperors in whose administrative system the district was styled as Sarcar Sharifabad or the land of the nobles. The *aimadars* of the district are the descendants of distinguished personages who, on account of their public service and literary abilities, had been favoured with Imperial grants of lands by the Muhammadan Emperors and are justly held in esteem and veneration by all classes of the people. Owing unfortunately to circumstances, over which they had no control, these *aimadars* have been no exception to the general ruin and decay which have overtaken all respectable families throughout this Presidency.

5. But in spite of their past history and their political importance the Muhammadans of the district are very poorly represented on the local self-governing bodies, viz., the District Board, Local Boards, Municipalities and Union Boards. Their representations on these bodies are utterly disproportionate to their number and importance. Large powers are being conferred on the Union Boards where the representation is specially unsatisfactory; and with a disproportionate and perpetual minority in all these bodies and without any well-defined public opinion to serve as a check on the arbitrary acts of those bodies, the Muhammadans are struggling everywhere with a handicap. The Association respectfully draws the attention of the Government in this direction and begs leave to suggest that the only way to ensure adequate representation of Muhammadans proportionate to their importance in the Presidency, will be

by according them the right of separate election on the basis of communal representation. In making this suggestion the Association is fully sensible of the difference of opinion on this subject; but in the opinion of the Association that is the only way of safeguarding Muhammadan interests in the local self-governing bodies. Until that is done, the Association hopes that in making nominations to these bodies the legitimate claims of the Muhammadans to adequate representation will be duly and sympathetically considered.

6. The proportion of Mussalmans in the higher and ministerial services is also inadequate. The Association regrets to note that no Muhammadan of this district has been taken into the Provincial Executive and Judicial Services for a long time, although there is no dearth of suitable Muhammadan candidates. The Association hopes that our legitimate claims in this respect will be sympathetically considered. In this connection the Association accords its best thanks to Mr. S. G. Hart, the District Magistrate, and Mr. P. E. Cammiade, the District and Sessions Judge, for their kind and sympathetic consideration of the claims of the Muhammadans in their respective departments.

7. The Association begs to state that in order to remove the educational backwardness of the community more grants should be made for Muhammadan education. The need for hostel for school and college students is keenly felt for a long time. The Association maintained a large hostel for some time partly with Government grant and partly with public subscriptions, but the building was acquired for the site of the Zilla school which is under construction.

As a result of this, a useful institution had to be closed down for want of a suitable building in the town. The students are thus suffering much inconvenience for the want of hostels in this town. The Association hopes that a hostel will be attached to the zilla school for Muhammadan boys when it will be completed.

8. It is a matter of sincere congratulation to us that the destinies of the people of this Presidency have been entrusted to a far-sighted Statesman and a sympathetic Ruler like yourself. Your Excellency, representing a noble house of illustrious and distinguished leaders of men, will, we hope and trust, appreciate the peculiar and delicate position occupied by the Mussalmans of this district in their struggles and difficulties, and improve their lot and earn the eternal gratefulness of the community.

9. We beg once again to offer Your Excellency and Her Excellency Lady Lytton a hearty and loyal welcome, and we fervently pray that it may please Providence to shower His choicest blessings on you and grant you long life, happiness and prosperity.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Addresses
presented at Burawan, on 17th January
1923.***

GENTLEMEN,

I desire to thank you most warmly on behalf of Lady Lytton and myself for the kind words of welcome which you have addressed to us. I am delighted so early in my tenure of office to visit a district which has played so prominent a part in history, which has been from the earliest times the seat of a settled civilization, and which became intimately associated with the East India Company more than 160 years ago. I shall have some general remarks to make in a moment which will be applicable to all your addresses, but first let me examine a few of the specific points mentioned in each one.

MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONERS,

The local matter to which you attach most importance is the improvement of your waterworks. Let me remind you of the history of the scheme. The original estimate for improving the works was Rs. 1,09,000 of which Government promised to pay Rs. 79,000, the municipality agreeing to take a loan for the balance. Government paid the grant in 1921. Subsequently the Commissioners prepared a more ambitious scheme, estimated to cost 3½ lakhs and asked Government to contribute an additional 2½ lakhs. Government replied that this was out of the question and the scheme was cut down to one costing Rs. 1,30,000 of which the municipality would have to pay Rs. 20,000, apart from the loan. The Chief

Engineer advises that this scheme will be quite satisfactory, and as Government have already paid their contribution and you could not possibly finance the larger scheme, I would strongly advise you to accept the more modest one and to apply for the loan. Your desire for the elaborate scheme, which will be a more final solution of the problem, is natural, but you will recognize that it is impossible of realization for many years to come.

The other activities which you bring to my notice include the establishment of a model primary school on the lines suggested by Mr. Biss, the improvement in the sanitation of the town and the introduction of a scheme of electric light. I congratulate you on establishing a primary school of which you have undertaken to bear half of both the capital and the recurring cost. The Government contribution has been sanctioned, but it cannot be paid until the school is actually started. If, as your address implies, the school has been opened, I would suggest your informing the proper authorities so that the grant may be paid.

I am also glad to hear that perceptible progress has been made in the improvement of the sanitation of the town. The provision of electric lighting will, of course, add to the amenities of the town, and will at the same time, I understand, result in a slight saving in expenditure.

You go on to urge the paramount need for colleges to teach science, but I am inclined to think that in this matter you are leaving out an important step in the development of higher education in this district. You will remember that in response to repeated

demands from this town and district Government have been concentrating on the establishment of a zilla school at Burdwan. Would it not be wise to complete this project before attempting any more ambitious development? I may, however, say that the Calcutta University Commission recommended the establishment of intermediate colleges under certain conditions, and, although financial difficulties stand in the way of the materialization of this and other of their recommendations, I have the Commission's proposals always before me. When it is found possible to inaugurate a system of intermediate colleges on the lines of the report, the claims of Burdwan will not be overlooked.

GENTLEMEN OF THE DISTRICT BOARD,

I am delighted to hear of the spirit animating your Board under their non-official Chairman, and I am sure that he and the members of the Board have the true interest of the district at heart; it is gratifying to learn of the co-operation existing between you and the district officials. Thus only, I am convinced, can the welfare and prosperity of the district be assured. On Friday I shall be opening a Conference of Presidents of Union Boards and I should like to take this opportunity of thanking Raja Mani Loll Singh Roy and the Vice-Chairman Rai Tara Prasanna Mukharji Bahadur for what they have done to encourage the Union Boards in this district and the success with which they, with the help of the members, have administered the affairs of the District Board.

You have referred at some length to the Damodar Canal project which has been for nearly sixty years

before Government. There can be no doubt that it would be of great value to agriculture and would do something towards the supply of drinking water; it is also just possible that it might have some effect on the diminution of Malaria. The difficulty is, however, that it cannot be classed as a productive work, inasmuch as it would become a charge on provincial revenues. The only alternative, therefore, is to take it up under the Agricultural and Sanitary Improvements Act, and, if the District Boards concerned are prepared to do this, the project, which is now ready to be estimated in detail, can be completed.

With regard to the floods from which the Katwa area suffers, the country along the Ajai is already protected by three Schedule D embankments, and also by Government and other zamindari embankments. If these latter are kept in proper repair, the country will be protected in ordinary floods.

GENTLEMEN OF THE BURDWAN MUHAMMADAN ASSOCIATION,

You have complained in your address that the representation of Muhammadans both on local self-governing bodies and in Government service is disproportionate to their numbers and you urge as a remedy the introduction of communal representation on local bodies. I have never concealed my dislike in principle of communal representation. It is opposed to the whole spirit of self-government and is a hindrance to its development. I have stated this on more than one occasion even though by so doing I have forfeited the good opinion of those Muhammadans who favour this expedient. I fully recognize, however, the necessity for some artificial

protection for the Muhammadan community until such time as they are sufficiently advanced in education to hold the field in open competition with other communities. As you know Government always reserves a certain number of appointments for Muhammadans and when vacancies occur I have the utmost difficulty in finding men who both have the necessary qualifications and are representative of the Muhammadan community generally. We have also admitted in the Calcutta Municipal Bill the principle of reserving a limited number of seats to Muhammadans who will be elected by a general mixed electorate. This principle is less open to objection than the election of minority representatives by communal electorates, and if it is retained in the Calcutta Bill we shall be prepared to insert it in our new Municipal Bill for the rest of Bengal.

But, gentlemen, the true remedy for the grievance of which you complain is to push on vigorously the education of the rising generation of Muhammadans either in general schools or in Madrassas where they exist. I do not think that in the whole world there is any class of people for whom employment in the immediate future is more certainly assured than the well-educated Muhammadan in India. Far from there being any prejudice against them, every Government is waiting for them with outstretched hand.

Apart from these specific matters there are a few general observations which I desire to make.

Speaking at Birbhum a few days ago I referred to the financial difficulties of Government and the impossibility of satisfying all the local needs of a district from central provincial funds. I realize

that nothing is more depressing than to be told that your needs are recognized, that your proposals are sound, that your schemes are approved, but that they cannot be carried out for want of funds. Also it is not encouraging, when you have appealed for help, to be told to do the work yourselves and pay for it from your own resources. You probably feel, as I have often done, that if a course of action is both practicable and urgent, it ought to be made possible of achievement. I am never satisfied that an evil should continue once a remedy for it has been found, nor am I content to wait indefinitely for a good once I have realized that it could be attained. I assume that your feelings are much the same as mine, and therefore I am not content merely to say in reply to your requests "I am sorry, but I have no money with which to help you and you must either wait for or go without the benefits you desire." No, I agree with you that drinking water for the people, hospitals for the treatment of disease, irrigation works for the improvement of the soil and the prevention of floods, education for the rising generation, are all things which are urgently needed and which could be achieved at once if money were available, and therefore money must be made available. The point I want to make is that this is your problem as well as mine. I think the time has come when the Central Provincial Government and the local governing bodies should jointly examine this problem and appeal to the public to help them to solve it. We start with the proved fact that the revenue of the province is insufficient for the needs of the people. There are three possible remedies—(1) the revenue may be increased, (2) it may be differently distributed,

(3) it may be supplemented by private benevolence and enterprise. I believe they are all three both necessary and possible. Let me consider them in turn. The provincial revenues can only be increased by fresh taxation. Municipal and District Board revenues can be increased in some cases by altering the basis of assessment or also by increasing the rates charged. Broadly speaking, I think it may be admitted that though the yield of existing taxes will increase slightly with improved trade and prosperity, we cannot hope for any substantial increase of revenue until new sources of wealth have been created and the taxable capacity of the people has been thereby increased. Our common problem under this head, therefore, is how to create more wealth.

The second point is the spending of our existing revenue. It is often said that too much of it is spent upon administrative machinery, upon officials, police and other unproductive charges and that if this expenditure were reduced more money would be available for the needs of which I have spoken. I agree, and I have already promised that Government will give its closest attention to this problem. But if we are to succeed, the public must help. If we are to reduce officials they must reduce the claims and demands upon Government which make the retention of these officials necessary; if we are to reduce our police force they must refrain from action which makes a large police force necessary. As I have said, with the help of local governing bodies and the general public I believe that more money can be made available for the urgent needs of the people.

Lastly, there is the question of supplementing the existing revenue of the State by local contributions and voluntary service. This is the only one of the three remedies which Government can do little to provide, but it is, perhaps, the most fruitful of them all. So many of the needs of each district could be provided without reference to Government at all if all classes and all individuals would combine to supply them. The relief work recently undertaken by voluntary agencies in the flooded area of Rajshahi and Bogra is an excellent illustration of how advantageously the work and funds of Government can be supplemented. If each district would undertake the re-excavation and maintenance of its own tanks, the problem of rural water-supply would be largely solved, and the Co-operative Irrigation Societies which I found in Birbhum have shown how this may be done. I cannot resist, therefore, making yet another appeal for local contributions both in money and service. Let it be your ambition in this district to provide a model for the rest of the province in village self-government, efficient local organization and a sturdy spirit of self-help and co-operation in improving the productivity of the land and increasing the health and happiness of those who live upon it.

His Excellency's Speech at the opening ceremony of New Civil Courts Buildings at Burdwan, on 18th January 1923.

MR. CAMMIADE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I thank you for having invited me to open the New Civil Courts of Burdwan, and to be present, as you say, at their dedication to the administration of justice in the name of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

You tell me that the Court has been associated with the old building for a century and a half; the building must, therefore, have been originally constructed very shortly after the East India Company came into direct connection with the district, as it then was. I can well imagine that it is with a feeling of regret that you will leave a building, which has been associated with so many distinguished men and which has seen the development of judicial administration from the early beginnings of the East India Company. But sentiment must give way to considerations of health and convenience, and I hope that the spacious buildings which have been constructed at a cost of 3½ lakhs and which I am now about to open will give added convenience to the Bench, the Bar and the public, while at the same time carrying on the best traditions connected with the old.

I appreciate, Mr. Cammiade, the consideration you have shown for the well-known financial difficulties of Government at the present moment

and with commendable restraint you have restricted yourself to a single request. I am not surprised that you should desire to obtain control of the tank which is now such an objectionable feature and to improve the approaches to the Court from the Grand Trunk Road. It is unfortunate that this land was not acquired at the time with the site of the building, and if better terms can now be obtained than were then possible, you are right to make a strong effort to secure this additional land. No proposal has yet been received from you officially, and, therefore, of course, no provision has been made in this year's budget for any grant for such a purpose. If you will submit a proposal with estimates, I can promise you that it will be sympathetically considered. More than that I cannot say to-day.

I have now much pleasure in formally declaring the buildings open.

***His Excellency's Speech at the opening of
the Conference of Presidents of Union
Boards at Burdwan, on 19th January
1923.***

GENTLEMEN,

I accepted with pleasure your invitation to open a Conference of the Presidents of Union Boards in this district, because I am convinced that the development of self-government will bring many advantages to the villagers, and because it has already achieved marked success in this district.

The Village Self-Government Act is a practical measure for giving the rural population power to manage their own affairs. The Union Boards have the opportunity of improving the conditions of sanitation, education, local roads and communications and, indeed, of everything that directly affects the daily life of their villagers, and the exercise of this power and its responsibilities is a real training in self-help and mutual co-operation and thus prepares them for participation in the larger sphere of provincial politics. It seems to me that the development of village self-government is the foundation on which provincial self-government must be built and that it is essential for the people to learn to manage their own affairs in their own villages if they are to derive the fullest possible benefit for the gradual attainment of provincial autonomy.

I am delighted to hear of the progress which has been made since the constitution of the Union Boards

in 1920. There are now 165 Union Boards with a total income of Rs. 3,80,000, nearly half of which was derived from union rates. The expenditure was Rs. 3,20,000. of which just over a lakh was spent on roads, medical relief, education and so forth. In some districts, I am afraid that the non-co-operation movement did a great deal of mischief in retarding the progress of these institutions and possibly it may have been helped by the existence of party factions. I believe, however, that in spite of the unfortunate circumstances in which they came into existence, the Union Boards have on the whole been decidedly successful in this district and I hope that the tangible proofs of their utility will have convinced every one that they are for the public good and that any attempts at interference with their work and development should be strenuously resisted. It must be remembered that any obstacle to their growth, whether it comes from apathy, jealousy or from the mere desire to wreck anything that has any connection, however remote, with Government, only damages the interests of the villagers themselves.

Where so many Union Boards have done such conspicuously good work, it may be invidious to select any one of them for special mention, but I should like to refer to the work of three or four, merely as being typical of the directions in which their activities have been and can be usefully exercised. During the past year the Khandaghosh Board spent Rs. 840 on repairing roads and the banks of an old tank, on clearing jungle and drains, and on distributing medicine. The Gushkara

Board spent Rs. 622 on road repair, sanitary measures and education; it has established a dispensary, and the doctor who manages it is a local resident trained at Belgachia who has given his services for very small remuneration. The President does all the clerical work with his own hand, thus enabling the Board to spend a larger sum on improvements without any additional assessment. Such personal service is an example which other boards might follow with advantage.

The Ajhapur Union Board is another example of personal service, the members dividing between them the work of the board. Thus bills for road repairs are signed by five or six persons who use the road and certify that they are satisfied with the work. Their budget for the current year includes the construction of four ring-wells and the provision of Rs. 300 for the improvement of sanitary conditions.

Ketugram spent Rs. 916 on road repairs, sanitary improvement, drainage and medicine, and thanks to the tact and energy of its President it is now one of the most progressive Union Boards.

Dhatrigram maintains $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles of local roads and spent Rs. 227 on ten smaller roads. The dispensary which they house and maintain, is so popular that I understand the people are anxious for their assessment being enhanced to secure its continuance.

Another board has constructed a drain for irrigation and drinking purposes, and yet another has induced the owners of private tanks to clear the weeds.

It will thus be seen what wide fields there are for the activities of the Union Boards not only in directly doing things for the public good, but also in securing the co-operation of the villagers in acting jointly to get things done where the Union Boards have insufficient funds to do it themselves.

The establishment of village tribunals is another great benefit which the Act has conferred as it enables the villagers to settle their petty disputes at a minimum of cost and inconvenience. Eighteen Union Boards, I am told, are now administering criminal justice and their judgments and sentences have given satisfaction to the public. Your Magistrate tells me that he has submitted proposals for the establishment of more benches and union courts. This development will, I hope, prove advantageous in two ways (1) by minimising the delay and expense of judicial procedure in civil disputes and petty offences and (2) by saving the large sums of money which are now spent every year in fruitless litigation.

As is the case with every public body and, indeed, with most individuals at the present moment, I am afraid your activities must be restricted to some extent by lack of funds, but I understand that the rate which you levy is by no means excessive and it is always open to you, when necessity arises and circumstances permit, to levy additional rates under the Act, and if this should prove desirable, I hope that all—rich and poor alike—will willingly accept the burden which results in such benefits for the area as a whole. In particular, I hope, that the members of the Boards

themselves will assess fairly and pay honestly their own taxes. This is not everywhere done, though in some cases they do even more than this and contribute generously to local needs. It is a small price to pay to establish a reputation for fair dealing. I understand that the District Board gave you a substantial grant. I am not sure on what principle the amount is based, but I would suggest—and I see that this matter is one of the subjects to be discussed—that they might consider the desirability of contributing sums equal to a certain proportion of the additional rates which the Union Boards levy under section 37 (b) of the Act. At the same time I wish to emphasize the fact that there is no obligation upon any Union Board to levy additional taxation. In this matter the decision rests with them and with them alone. There is an advantage in establishing a Union Board even though at first it can do no more than administer the chaukidari-tax. Doubt about this, and a fear that they may be compelled to impose additional taxation has, I think, deterred some localities from establishing these boards and I am anxious to make this quite clear.

Your Collector is an enthusiast for village self-government. He has made a close study of the matter and I believe I am right in thinking that it was he who first started in Dacca the conferences like this one which have now become an annual meeting in Dacca and he, too, had some hand in the framing of the Bill which became law in 1919. I am particularly glad to see that Raja Mani Loll Singh Roy and Rai Tara Prasanna Mukharji Bahadur, Chairman and Vice-Chairman

of the District Board, have taken an active personal part in the work of the Union Boards. I would take this opportunity of asking other members of the Board to follow their lead and to encourage and promote the good work of which the Union Boards are capable, for it is of immense advantage to these small local bodies to maintain a link with the District Board.

I see that you have a formidable programme before you and many of the resolutions which are to be moved, if given effect to, will substantially increase the duties and importance of the Union Boards. I do not propose to refer to them in detail, but one especially appears to me of great importance,—that which recommends the encouragement of Co-operative Societies and Associations for various purposes. I feel sure that any steps taken in this direction will be of the utmost value; for I have seen even in the short time I have been in Bengal, what great benefits have resulted from the spread of the co-operative movement, and I have just seen in Birbhum the value of the work done by Village Agricultural Societies. If the people in the country districts can in this way become familiar with the principles of representative Government and acquire the habit of co-operation, they will thereby provide the best guarantee for the success of the wider political reforms which have recently been introduced.

Another matter which I see forms the subject of three resolutions is the management and extension of primary schools. I feel sure that, as I suggested in my reply to the addresses two days

ago, primary education is essentially the concern of the local bodies and that there is wide scope for your activities. At the same time there are so many problems, sanitation, roads, medical relief, education, towards which your energies must be directed that it will not be possible for you to devote much to any one to the exclusion of the others, and so whatever steps you decide to be desirable must necessarily be slow; I have no doubt, however, that the results of your deliberations in this matter will be of great use.

I have now much pleasure in declaring the Conference open, and I hope that its deliberations may be fruitful of good results and that the Conference may become, as it has in Dacca, an annual occurrence.

***Speech in reply to His Excellency's health
at the Geological and Mining Institute
Dinner, on 2nd February 1923.***

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you for having invited me to be present at your annual dinner and for the cordiality with which you have received this toast.

Your President has been kind enough to welcome me as one of yourselves. I hope this does not mean that you expect me to show an intimate acquaintance with the technical side of your work. I am not either a miner or a geologist. But, as a keen observer of nature and as a humble explorer into the mines of human thought and knowledge, I am able, I hope, to take an intelligent interest in your activities.

You, Sir, have described this institute in one passage of your speech as a "Co-operative Society of Geologists and Mining Engineers;" and in another passage you have spoken of your members as cooks. I do not think you have done yourselves full justice in either of these descriptions. You are really something much more romantic than that and I believe that the interest which the public takes in your work would be greatly increased if you would only describe it in less technical and more poetical language. It was not till I heard you say that the object of your meeting this morning was to "look into the future," and to "unmask the hidden wealth which only science can reveal," that I became really thrilled and rejoiced to think that you would allow me to be one

of yourselves. I will make a confession to you, gentlemen. When my children asked me this evening where I was going and I replied, "I am going to dine with the Mining and Geological Institute," their faces assumed an expression of such extreme disappointment and pity that you would not have been flattered if you had seen them. Now, if I had replied, as I should have done, "I am going to dine with a Society of Treasure Seekers, a body of men who look into the future and find buried treasure in the earth," their faces would have glowed with pleasure and they would have replied, "Oh, can't you take us with you !"

So regarded, your work is, indeed, romantic and interesting, and I am proud that you should allow me to have a share in it. As Governor of the Province, is it not also my business to "look into the future," and am I not the chief treasure seeker of the province? In all seriousness, gentlemen, this task in which you are engaged is the most beneficial work which can be undertaken in any country at this moment. In recent years we have been so busy destroying wealth that we have almost forgotten how to create it. Speaking at Suri a week ago, I pointed out that if we were to supply the urgent needs of the province in matters of education and public health, we must create new wealth by developing the natural resources of the country. I am always hearing the complaint that India is a poor country and the evidences of its poverty are only too apparent, but I am convinced that it is potentially a rich country—its mineral resources are enormous, but as yet undeveloped, its soil does not produce as much as it might; and the manual and technical skill of its

people is not fully utilized. India, in short, is a vast field of buried treasure and you, gentlemen, are the people who can show us where it is to be found and how it is to be obtained.

You have asked for my "sympathy" in your endeavours." I can promise you not merely sympathy, but active interest and co-operation. We can help you, I think, in a number of ways. The Director of Industries in Bengal has been made Chairman of a Committee which is to assist the Coal Transportation Officer in his difficult task. This Committee will, I hope, help you to secure an equitable distribution of available wagons for the transport of coal. We will listen with every sympathy to your requests in the matter of legislation, and help you as much as we can in that way.

We can also, I think, be of some service to you in the education of those employed in the industry. Mining education in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa is at present under the control of a Mining Education Advisory Board, the President of which is the Chief Inspector of Mines. Instruction is given at the Bengal Engineering College, Sibpur, and many students who have passed out of that college have obtained Colliery Managers' certificates and have risen to responsible and well-paid positions. Instruction in lower grades of mining is given at three of the principal centres in the coal-fields, and Government have recently sanctioned the appointment of a whole-time lecturer and an assistant teacher to impart instruction at these centres. Classes are attended by young men who are employed in the coal mines, and provision is also made for the

benefit of those who are insufficiently educated to understand English, for lectures to be delivered in the vernacular at three other centres. Government have recently published a Manual of Mine Surveying for the students of these classes and a Manual of Coal Mining is also under preparation.

These are measures which have been already undertaken and we shall be glad to receive your suggestions at any time regarding further improvements in mining education.

Lastly, we can, perhaps, help you in improving the conditions of your labour. The welfare of the miners is our concern as well as yours. The prosperity of the mining industry is a national object, and the happiness and contentment of the miners is necessary to secure its attainment. That feature of your work will always have my personal interest in a very special degree.

I have not entered into the discussion of any technical matters, as the occasion does not seem to me an appropriate one for so doing, but I have followed your proceedings with interest, and so long as I hold my present office, I shall labour to promote your interests.

Once more I thank you for admitting me into this company of treasure seekers, and I assure you of the great pleasure it has been to me to enjoy your hospitality.

His Excellency's Speech at the Memorial Meeting for the late Raja Peary Mohan Mookerjee, on 3rd February 1923.

GENTLEMEN,

This meeting has been summoned to do honour to the memory of the late Raja Peary Mohan Mookerjee. Although I never had the pleasure of knowing him personally, I gladly accepted an invitation to preside at this meeting because from all I have heard of his great services to the people of Bengal, I realize that he was a man whose character brought much honour to the province during his life and whose memory we should wish to perpetuate after his death.

Born in 1840, he devoted the whole of his long life to the well-being of his fellow-countrymen. His versatility was great. He was the first M. A. in Science of the Calcutta University and till the end of his life he retained his interests in this subject. For over 15 years he practised as a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court, but it was in connection with public affairs that he first came into prominence. He was appointed a member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1879 and again in 1906, and a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council from 1884 to 1886. He took a very prominent part in the discussions of the Bengal Tenancy Act, and it was for this reason, and because of the great mastery that he showed of the subject that he was again nominated in 1906. His ability in this connection was acclaimed on all sides, and the

conferment of the title of Raja and of the C. S. I. in 1887 was a recognition by Government of his great public spirit and personal influence. In the midst of his activities in the larger sphere of provincial politics, he did not forget his own home and district. He was always to the front in contributing to works of public utility, and the Uttarpaia College, amongst others, stands as a living monument of his open-handed generosity. In fact, there was hardly a single public movement in which he did not take an active interest. An orthodox Brahmin of saintly character, and a zamindar imbued with honesty of purpose and independent public spirit, his life was characterised by simplicity, frankness and thought for his fellows. In Raja Peary Mohan Mookerjee Bengal has lost a devoted friend and a genuine patriot.

***His Excellency's reply to the Deputation on
Women's Franchise, on 3rd February
1923.***

LADIES,

I have listened with interest to the address which you have read to me and I welcome the opportunity you have afforded me of discussing with you the cause of women's franchise in which you are interested.

Of my sympathy with your cause I need not assure you, for as you know I have not only been an advocate of the principle of women's franchise for many years, but I may claim, I think, to have taken an active part in the movement which secured votes for women in England. It is not in my power, of course, to secure for you the change in the law which you desire here, but if I can be of any service to your cause by telling you what our experience in England has been, I shall be delighted to do so.

With all the arguments that are advanced against the political enfranchisement of women, I am as familiar as you are—more familiar perhaps, because I have replied to them on countless platforms for three or four years. You have at least one advantage which was denied to us. You have our own example to help you. We used to be told that no first class sovereign power had given votes to women, and that the example of our own Colonies and a few small States was no guide, as their problems were quite different from ours. We were also told that if we were so foolish as to enfranchise our women, we

should be ruined, that the Empire would go to pieces, that India in particular would bitterly resent it. Well, none of these consequences have in fact followed. We have found that women have not been unsexed by possessing a vote, we have proved that women are not all conservatives or all radicals, or all teetotalers or pacifists, or anything else—they are not even all “women” politically speaking—I mean they do not all vote for women candidates or think alike on any subject.

India, far from resenting the admission of women to the sphere of Government at home, has followed our example and, except in Bengal, it must be admitted to our shame, has shown a remarkable readiness to admit the political claims of her own women. Our example ought to be a great help to you because a grain of fact is worth a world of theory, and we had to fight our battle on theory alone.

It is often assumed by those who argue their question on both sides, that the possession of a vote is a blessing or a privilege which should only be granted to specially deserving people, and so there is much argument as to whether women are sufficiently deserving, whether they are educated enough, intelligent enough, experienced enough, to have this good thing. In reality, however, the franchise is far more a weapon than a privilege, and its possession a protection rather than an honour. It is, therefore, more appropriate to debate whether or not women need this weapon for the protection of their own interests. If they have no interests apart from men, then there is no injustice in withholding the franchise from them, but if they have separate and

distinct interests from men, if the law discriminates between them, then it is an injustice to deny them the protection of the franchise.

I have always felt, however, that the value or otherwise to women of possessing the franchise, the question whether they need it or not, and whether or not it is unjust to withhold it from them, is primarily a matter for women themselves, and when I spoke on the subject in England, I used to confine myself rather to the question of whether or not the extension of the franchise would be beneficial to the State and desirable in the public interest. So in replying to your address to-day, perhaps you will allow me to say one word from that point of view.

Here again, I can now speak from experience, whereas formerly I could only express an opinion. Ever since I entered public life, I have been what is called a social reformer—that is to say, I have tried to secure improvements in the social condition of the people among whom I have lived. I have not waited for Government to attend to these matters, but I have tried to get evils remedied where possible without legislation; and where legislation was necessary, I have pressed it upon the Government of the day and never rested till I had induced them to pass it. In all this work I have found the assistance of women of the utmost value. Not only was their experience and knowledge of existing conditions helpful, but their faith in the possibility of improvement was often stronger than that of men. They were less easily disillusioned or discouraged and they were less content to tolerate an evil once they were acquainted with it. In all social reform which

could be done by private effort, they were, of course, as effective as men, although they had no votes ; but when it came to legislation, to influencing Governments and parliaments, they were far less effective. I used to prophesy that when their arguments could be backed by votes, their power and influence would be greatly increased. It is no longer a question of opinion or prophecy. Five years' experience in England has proved this to be the case, and I could quote to you many cases of reforms which have directly followed from the enfranchisement of our women. Well, since I came to India, I have seen as great a need for social service as I used to see in England and less evidence of its existence. I am firmly convinced that until the women of India take up this work, little progress will be made.

One instance bearing on this point was brought to my notice only yesterday morning when I visited the Presidency Jail. I have visited many jails in the province during the past year, and I have been agreeably surprised to find that in all material conditions, they compare very favourably with our jails at Home. But they have all been jails for men and one of the most striking features of Indian jails is the absence of women among the inmates. Yesterday morning I visited a female jail and I found the conditions there far less satisfactory. Women prisoners are so few that apparently their requirements have received far less attention than those of the men. In fact, however, the small dimensions of the problem ought to make it far easier of solution, and there is no reason that I can see why our treatment of female prisoners should not be made as perfect as the public opinion of the day will allow.

Now it is only quite recently that there have been any unofficial lady visitors of the women's jail, yet already they have effected some improvements. Their presence and their interest are welcomed by the authorities and I have not the slightest doubt that they will help us to improve the conditions far more effectively and far more rapidly than we could do without them. And if that is true of prisons, it is equally true of all the other social conditions that require improvement.

I have no hesitation in saying that the standard of civilization and progress of any community can best be measured by the position of its women, by their education, and by the part which they play in the public life of their country. It is, therefore, with the utmost regret that I have to acknowledge that judged by this standard the province with which I am proud to be connected is at present among the more backward, and not the foremost province in India. That stigma, I hope, you will succeed in removing before I leave the province. Nothing will give me greater pleasure than to be able to say before I leave India that the women of Bengal have been given equal opportunities with those of Bombay and Madras of serving their country and taking an active part in its public life.

The problem which above all others must for the next few years dominate the political life of India is that of building up a nation; but you cannot build a nation and leave out the women. We are trying to establish a representative system of government, but no system is truly representative which excludes from its franchise the whole of its women citizens.

Therefore it is not only in the interests of the women of Bengal that they should be enfranchised, it is in the interests of the political life of the province as a whole. Those of us who are engaged in improving its social and industrial conditions, or building up its national consciousness, want the help of those whom you represent here to-day. Until you have responsibility, we cannot hope for your interest and co-operation, and therefore the sooner political responsibility is given to you, the better it will be for every phase of public life in this province.

His Excellency's Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Young Men's Christian Association, on 13th February 1923.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Although this is the first occasion I have had of making the acquaintance of this organization in Calcutta, I am no stranger to the work of the Young Men's Christian Association in general, nor even to that part of its work which aims at uniting Indians and Europeans. Ever since its splendid work during the war brought the Young Men's Christian Association prominently before the public and earned the gratitude of many thousands of soldiers, I have watched its work at Home with sympathy and admiration. My enquiry into the position and needs of Indian students in Great Britain gave me a still more intimate knowledge of the work of the Young Men's Christian Association and made me acquainted with their two admirable hostels in London and Edinburgh. It also gave me the inestimable advantage of making the acquaintance of such splendid Young Men's Christian Association workers as Mr. Singha, the Superintendent of the hostel in Edinburgh, and Dr. S. K. Datta. As a colleague on the Indian Students' Committee, Dr. Datta gave me just the kind of help I most needed. He has the gifts of sympathy, understanding and judgment to a remarkable degree, and it is a great comfort and encouragement to me to know that in the work of my present office, I can still count upon his friendship and advice. He has added to my indebtedness since I arrived here by making me acquainted with Mr. K. T. Paul and your present General Secretary, Mr. James, and I feel the fact that

the movement has such men for its leaders is the best guarantee of its value and its strongest recommendation to the support of the public.

Before I say anything about the work of the Young Men's Christian Association in Calcutta, I should like to commend to those who have the means to help it, the present needs of the students' hostel in London. That hostel has hitherto been located in 'a temporary wooden building, known as the "Shakespeare Hut," in Bloomsbury. The London County Council have ordered its demolition and the site on which it was erected has been sold. The Young Men's Christian Association have the option of acquiring another site in the same neighbourhood and they hope to erect a permanent hostel for the use and benefit of Indian students in London. For this purpose they require £17,500, towards which only £6,000 have as yet been received, and the rest of the money must be obtained in the next few weeks. The matter is extremely urgent and it will be a very real calamity if this valuable opportunity is lost. The hostel is not only a great boon to the Indian students who reside in London and a rallying centre in vacation time for students who belong to Universities outside London, but it affords opportunities for the English and Indians to meet and become better acquainted with each other. In all these ways, it has a strong claim upon the support of both Indians and Europeans and I hope that those who have wealth will spare what is required to enable this admirable work to go on.

I now turn to the work of the Young Men's Christian Association in Calcutta. I imagine that I have been asked to preside at this meeting in order that

I may recommend this work, but as I have already indicated, the work itself and the names of those who control it, are its best possible recommendation. No words of mine are needed—nor would they suffice—to enhance its reputation. I have, indeed, come here with a more selfish purpose—not to give support to, but to ask for support from the Young Men's Christian Association.

The Young Men's Christian Association, as its annual report explains, "is a Social Service Organization and exists for the purpose of training young men in the service of others." Now that is precisely the kind of organization which my first year's experience in this province has taught me is most required here. It has been customary here for so long to look to Government for everything that it does not seem to occur to anyone either to ask for help or to offer it outside the ranks of Government. Let me give you one or two examples of what I have found. They could be multiplied many times, but two will suffice. I found that it was still the practice of Magistrates to send quite young children to prison for petty offences and when I pointed out that such a practice was wholly opposed to modern thought and experience, I was told that we had a Children's Act which would put a stop to it, but that the Act, though passed two years ago, had never been put into operation and had remained a dead letter ever since, as no homes of detention existed and there were no funds available to build them. Naturally I could not accept such a position and I have summoned a meeting at Government House on February 28th to discuss whether a remedy cannot be found with the help of private agencies and the Act brought into operation at once.

Again I found in the prisons I have visited that there are many men and women who have been sentenced to short terms of imprisonment ranging from three days to six months. This practice again is universally condemned and was recently deprecated by the Jails Committee. The proper remedy for this evil is, of course, the substitution of probation orders for these short sentences; but we have no Probation of Offenders' Act in this province, and I am told that if we introduced and passed one, it would be a dead letter as we could find no men or women in Bengal to serve as Probation Officers. Here again, I am very reluctant to accept this statement as final. It is a reproach which I should like to remove and I look to the Young Men's Christian Association to help me in both these matters.

It is now my pleasant duty to introduce Mr. Sastri to you. He needs no introduction of course as his name is known throughout India. It is not only a great honour and privilege to have secured the foremost orator in India to address us, but it is specially appropriate that the work of the Young Men's Christian Association should be supported by the head of the "Servants of India" Society—another organization also founded for service. I should certainly feel much happier as Governor if I could know that in my province both the Servants of India Society and the Young Men's Christian Association were strong and flourishing. I am glad, therefore, to welcome so happy a conjunction on this occasion. Mr. Sastri has come here at considerable personal inconvenience as his presence was urgently required at the Conference now sitting in Delhi. We are all the more grateful to him for keeping his engagement with us and we shall appreciate the more the address which I shall now ask him to give.

His Excellency's Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Calcutta Committee of the Kalimpong Homes, on 16th February 1923.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

As you all know, the fame of Dr. Graham and his work is not confined to Bengal or even to India, and before I left England I had heard of the Kalimpong Homes. I was able to send them a message of congratulation on the occasion of their 22nd birthday in September, but it was not till November last that I had the pleasure of visiting the Homes and seeing for myself how fully they justified their great reputation. I am glad of this opportunity of stating in public the impressions which I formed on that occasion. It may, perhaps, add weight to the tribute I am able to pay to Dr. Graham's work, if I say that all my life I have had a strong objection to institutional life for children. Barrack schools and large institutions are altogether unsuited to children. "A robin redbreast in a cage puts all heaven in a rage" wrote Blake and I feel the same thing about a child in an institution. The natural environment for a child is a family, and, if children have the misfortune to be without a family of their own, we should try and provide them with the best substitute we can find. A Barrack School, with a large number of children all of one sex, is no substitute for a family. It was, therefore, with some fear in my mind that I went to Kalimpong, although I had heard and approved of the main principles which were followed

there. 'I was afraid, lest I might find some of the evil features of institutional life surviving' there. I am happy to be able to state that I found nothing to complain of in this respect. It was evident from the bright faces of the children that they were happy, and they had plenty of freedom to romp and behave in a natural childish manner. Scattered cottages take the place of a central institution, and although the families in each Cottage are confined to one sex and are larger than the normal, yet they lead a very happy home life in conditions not entirely unlike those of a normal family.

I am told that the greatest pleasure which a visitor to Kalimpong experiences is to see Dr. Graham surrounded by the children. I can well believe that it is so, but unfortunately this pleasure was denied to me. When I was there in November Dr. Graham had not yet returned from his leave and in his absence I was hospitably received and shown everything by Mr. Purdie and Mr. Simpson. In some ways I was even better able to appreciate Dr. Graham's influence in his absence than I could have done had he been there. I was able to hear what his staff thought about him. I saw the faces of the children light up at the mere mention of his name. I realized the love and admiration which was felt for him by every one in Kalimpong, and how completely his influence dominated the place even in his absence.

Perhaps you will allow me to mention some of the characteristics of the place which chiefly impressed me during my visit. In the first place, I was struck with the extraordinary natural beauty of the surroundings. Dr. Graham has selected one of the loveliest and healthiest spots in the world in which

to establish his Homes, and I feel that this was not a mere accident. Children are very much affected by their surroundings, and the beauty of the hill country seems to have been absorbed into the life of every one in the Homes. An unconscious appreciation of what is beautiful is not the least of the advantages which the children derive from their life in Kalimpong. The scattered cottages I have already mentioned—each Cottage is a Home in itself and the children take a pride in making it as perfect as possible. The absence of any servants and the fact that the children do all the work themselves provides them with a practical training in domestic science. Indeed the practical nature of the instruction given impressed me very favourably. The children are not only educated in school, but they are trained for employment when they leave. The annual reports show how large a number have been placed in employment, and Dr. Graham is now the object of gratitude and affection of a vast family which is spread all over India.

I am told that it is now 22 years since this work was first started and I can well imagine how anxious those early years must have been. I hope the Homes are now sufficiently established in public estimation to ensure their continued support. You ought now to be able, Dr. Graham, to look back to the past with pride and forward to the future with confidence. I hope you will believe me when I say how infinitely grieved I am to think that my Government should have added to your anxieties and difficulties by withdrawing the grant of Rs. 60,000 which they have given in the past. This is not due, I assure you, to any change in our appreciation of your work or any

ignorance as to its present needs. It is due solely to the financial difficulties in which we are ourselves involved. Faced as we are with a deficit in our own budget, we have had to restrict the help we can give to many institutions which we should like to support. I only hope that the time may soon come when we shall again be in a position to renew our grant. I am confident that when the loss of the Government grant is made known, the charitable public of Calcutta, which has never failed you in the past, will rise to the occasion and make up the deficiency. I can from personal experience confidently recommend your work to all those who have the means to help it.

His Excellency's Speech at the Dacca Intermediate College Speech-Day, on 22nd February 1923.

GENTLEMEN,

I am delighted that contrary to rumours which had reached, I have the opportunity of renewing my acquaintance with your distinguished Principal, Rai Bhupati Nath Das Bahadur, although, I am afraid, that his presence to-day is against his doctor's orders. I believe, indeed, that nothing but physical force would have prevented him from coming here. I am afraid that he is already a martyr to duty and that his illness is due to the overlong postponement of his well-earned and much-needed leave. I trust that he will not suffer through having coming here to-day, and that he will soon be restored to health and will long be spared to carry on his useful work as head of this college.

On the occasion of my last visit I had an opportunity of admiring your excellent buildings and to-day I am able to estimate to some extent the value to which they have been put. It is evident that the standard of teaching in the college is high and that in addition to the benefits which you enjoy in the excellent hostel, which I have already visited, you receive a training here which will greatly help you in your subsequent careers.

I sympathize with the special requirements of the college set forth in the Principal's report, especially with your desire for a more complete library of your own. It is obvious, however, that new buildings

where you will have room to grow and additional staff for new courses of study must take some time to provide. Your ambition is entirely laudable, but ambitions which require heavy expenditure to fulfil must in these days be accompanied by much patience. Perhaps some generous local benefactor may be found to supply some of these needs, I hope it may be so, as it will be impossible for Government to give you increased assistance this year. At the moment, as you know, we are having a difficulty in balancing our accounts, but this difficulty will soon be overcome I hope. It is caused mainly by failure of revenue, and it is legitimate to expect an increase of revenue as trade gradually improves. At any rate we have no intention of abandoning our interest in and support of this college.

I was interested to hear what the Principal said in his report about the reduced size of the classes in the college and the closer relationship which is thus established between the students and their teachers. This is one of the improvements which was strongly recommended by the Calcutta University Commission and, indeed, the thing which strikes me most on visiting Dacca is the evidence I find that you have derived more benefit here up to the present from the labours of that Commission than has the University of Calcutta which they were primarily concerned to improve. Whilst Calcutta is still waiting for their recommendations to be carried out, Dacca has already realized some of the fruits of their work. The University has been established and is carrying out the improved methods of teaching which they recommended. The two intermediate colleges are working on the lines which they laid down, and time alone is

now required to prove the advantages of those changes. I can assure you, as I assured the students of the Jagannath College last August, that you have no reason to deplore the loss of your graduate and post-graduate classes. The work which is done in these colleges is a complete stage in itself and prepares the students either to specialize in the work of their professions or to continue their studies in the University up to the degree stage.

I notice the same demand is made on behalf of these colleges as is made on behalf of the University that the education should be more vocational in character, but I wish in this connection to emphasize the fact that defective methods of teaching in the past have been more responsible than the choice of subjects taught for the general dissatisfaction which is felt with what is called academic education. It is not so much the subjects you have studied as the way you have studied them which will help you to find employment in after-life, and a good general training up to the intermediate stage is the best preparation for any profession. A man who can only memorise what he has read in books or been told by his teachers is a man of limited capacity, no matter what subjects he has committed to memory. But a man who has learnt to think for himself and to assimilate the knowledge he has acquired, is a man who is bound to succeed and will always be in demand.

I congratulate those of you who have received prizes to-day and I offer to one and all of you my best wishes for your success not only in this college, but in your subsequent careers. If I may be permitted to offer you a word of advice, it would be that you should seek to establish for yourselves

a standard both of character and industry which you are prepared at all times to maintain. Do not be content with the standard of others or with mere qualifications and testimonials which you can obtain with ease. It is what you are worth not what people think of you which matters. Be your own judges, and if you can satisfy yourselves, you will not fear any other judgment and you will be able to face the future with confidence. Self-reliance which is based on a consciousness of power, is the quality most needed in India to-day as, indeed, in all countries. If by making good use of your opportunities, while you are young, you can acquire this precious quality, you will be able to command success, and to serve your generation with distinction.

***His Excellency's Address at the Convocation
of the Dacca University, on 22nd Feb-
ruary 1923.***

GENTLEMEN,

This is the first occasion which I have had of meeting you as your Chancellor, and of all the duties which devolve upon me in that office, the ones I appreciate the most are those which bring me into personal touch with the students of the University. Most of my duties are concerned only with the shell of the University, its body so to speak and its material welfare—its buildings, its finances, its relations with the Government and the public, its curriculum, its legislation and so forth. To-day I am able to deal with its soul—with you its students, who are the true expression of its life and purpose. I have already stated in public that in my opinion this University is Dacca's greatest possession, and will do more than anything else to increase and spread the fame of Dacca beyond the limits of Bengal or even of India itself. I want this institution, therefore, to be a source of special pride to the people of Dacca and I want to see it take a big step forward during my own period of office along that road to fame which I have predicted for it. It has as yet had little more than one complete year of existence and already its progress has been very encouraging to those who are specially interested in its welfare. The University system in Bengal was pronounced by Sir Michael Sadler's Commission to be "fundamentally defective." "It squanders," they declared, "her most valuable

asset, which is the brain power and moral vigour of her sons. In a grave degree it fails to turn their great abilities towards the most socially useful ends; it does little to train their powers of initiative and to inculcate independence of mind and judgment. A change which will help in getting rid of these shortcomings in the present system of education and which will give a stimulus to the capacity for public service in new careers will in the long run be an economy, as well as in other ways a boon to Bengal; and through Bengal to India and the world."

The first step which has been taken in Bengal to effect this change so eloquently demanded by the Commission has been taken here where a tutorial system has been established and an attempt made to free the teaching of the University from the bonds of that examination system which the Commission so rightly condemned. Each student is now trained to think for himself instead of merely remembering by heart what he has read in books or been told in lectures. This system is already established; it is already apparent after only 18 months' experience as the distinguishing feature of the teaching of this University. I hope it will be farther developed and improved. Its value, I am told, is already appreciated by the students, and before long it will become recognized outside the walls of the University, because it will be found that the Dacca trained student is a superior man. It matters little in life how much a man can remember of the books he read or the lectures he listened to at college. What does matter is that he should have a good brain, a well-trained mind, that he should be able to think for himself and show discrimination and judgment in unfamiliar

situations. Your professors here are trying to enable you to establish hereafter a reputation of that kind and thus to ensure your success—no matter what subjects you may be studying. It is not the subjects which you are studying, but the way you are studying them which will mainly determine your future success.

This University is only at the very beginning of its life—its reputation is still all to make. I want to assure the teaching staff of my deep personal interest in their work and of my high appreciation of the good beginning which has been made. I realize how discouraged they must feel at this moment by the criticisms which have been raised against them and at the suggestion of the Retrenchment Committee that they are extravagant and overpaid. I beg them not to lose heart nor faith. As a Government we have obvious difficulties, because our needs are great and our resources are small. We cannot afford, therefore, to squander or waste, but let it not be thought that we cannot afford to pay our teachers or maintain our Universities. You have but to prove your value, and I can promise you the encouragement and support of Government. This splendid institution, with its unique opportunities and its promise of a brilliant future, is not going to be starved out of existence in the first few years of its life. Criticism you cannot escape any more than I can. It is not desirable that you should, for criticism should act as a stimulant to a healthy body, but do not let any criticism lead you to doubt the appreciation and gratitude of those who know the true character of your work.

As your Chancellor, you will always find me ready to champion your interests. But, gentlemen, it is not the Chancellor nor even the Vice-Chancellor, who can make this University famous. The fruits by which it will be judged are the students whom it trains, their academic attainments, and the reputation which they can establish in the field of learning and in the public life of India. I want, therefore, in the very first speech that I address to you, as your Chancellor, to appeal to you to help to make my prediction come true, to ask you to share my ambitions for this University, and to suggest to you some of the ways in which you can either make or destroy its reputation.

First and foremost then, I would ask you to remember, that in coming here you have something more to do than merely to get a degree or to improve your chances of getting employment in life. I don't suggest that this University cannot and will not help you in this way. It can, and you will do well, to get out of it as much as you can. Indeed, I regard it as the main duty of the Governing Body to study how the University may best help its students, to arrange its courses, and to fix the subjects of study in such a way as to give to the students the mental equipment and training which will be of most service to them in after-life. As Chapcellow, I shall give my closest attention to this problem. I have already discussed it with the Vice-Chancellor and I hope before long to set up a Committee to act as a permanent Advisory Body to Government in our higher educational policy. We have two great Universities in this province. At the moment they are both suffering from the recent political changes which have withdrawn them from the charge of the Government of India and left them

to the care of a Provincial Government, with financial resources wholly inadequate to their great needs. It is no good wringing our hands over these changes; it is no good looking back to the days when the Sadler Commission did its great work and recommended reforms of Calcutta University, which it expected the Government of India to carry out. It is no use recalling the days when Dacca had just ceased to be the capital of Eastern Bengal and when the late Sir Robert Nathan and his committee of experts were busy designing the University of Dacca as a splendid Imperial compensation. Those days are gone beyond recall and the Act of 1919 is now an established fact which we must all recognize and accept. It has left the Government of Bengal with an almost impossible burden of responsibility—with an unreformed University of Calcutta, with a new University here at Dacca designed on an ambitious scale, and with the Meston settlement, which, with a population equal to that of Madras, has assigned to us only the revenue of the Punjab!

Well, might we say that the task was an impossible one. But we have got to do the best we can in these difficult circumstances, and with our limited resources it is all the more important to see that nothing is wasted, that there is no duplication and overlapping, and that such money, as we can afford to spend on higher education, is wisely and equitably distributed between the two Universities. I do not suggest, of course, that no subject should be taught at both Universities. They serve different districts and will necessarily include similar courses of study; but each University should have one or two special features, and it is in special studies that

overlapping should be avoided. Dacca is already marked out as a Residential University which Calcutta can never become, and situated as it is in Eastern Bengal, Dacca will naturally become the chief centre of Muhammadan learning and devote special attention to higher Islamic studies. The important thing is that both the needs and the advantages of each should be carefully and impartially studied. If there is jealousy between Calcutta and Dacca, if they become rivals rather than collaborators, and if the energies of either of them is dissipated in controversies with the Government or the Legislative Council, then our task will be rendered quite impossible, these two great institutions will suffer, and irreparable damage will be done to the present and future generations of students. We must all work together and co-operate with each other to make the very most of our resources and our opportunities. It is to help us to achieve this end that I propose to seek the advice of a committee of educational experts on which I shall ask the Vice-Chancellors of the two Universities to serve.

You will see from this that I hope to concentrate the efforts both of the Government and the University authorities upon the problem of making this University as valuable as possible to you and of securing the best possible teaching in those subjects which you most desire to study. Dacca University has been much criticised of late for being too cultural and academic in its teaching, and demands have been made that it should become more technical and provide an education that would be more definitely vocational. That is a criticism which may be justly

directed against all our educational methods. We turn out each year a large number of men whose degrees are little esteemed and for whose services there is no demand. This is due, as I have already suggested, as much to the way they have been taught as to the subjects they have studied, but it is a defect for which we have got to find a remedy. The problem is not so simple as some people imagine, and it would be just as easy to produce a superfluity of engineers or scientists as of lawyers and clerks. What is required, I think, is to study carefully the needs of the country, to find out what are our requirements in man power for agriculture, commerce, industry, medicine, law, scientific research, and public life, and then to provide such training as will produce the most highly-educated men in all these departments. But the choice of a career and of a course of study must always rest with the individual student.

This brings me back to the main purpose of my address to you to-day, namely, the part which the students must play if the reputation of our Universities is to be established and maintained. I have admitted that you are fully justified in trying to get out of your studies here as much material advantage as you can, but the point I want to emphasize is that if it is the main purpose of the University to give to you what you most require, it should be your main purpose not merely to take, but to give something in return. I mean by that, that you should not be content merely to come here and get a degree with the least possible trouble to yourselves, but that you should regard it as your main object to bring credit to the University, to study

less with the object of securing a job in life than with the object of doing credit to Dacca University. If you look upon this place as a mere technical high school and ask no more of it than that it should give you the letters B. A. or B. Sc. to improve your chances of employment, then it will never rise above the level you have set, and the ambitious I have expressed for it will never be fulfilled. If this place is to become a great and famous University, you must recognize that a University is a seat of learning, and not a mere employment agency; you must desire that the standard of its examinations should be as high and not as low as possible; and you must regard it as a point of honour to establish the fact and get it recognized by the whole world that a degree at Dacca University represents a high standard of learning and is in fact equivalent to a degree in any other University.

Now the essential difference between a University and a technical school is this, that at a University every course of study is provided and should be undertaken with the sole purpose of producing the highest standard of achievement in that branch of study. It may be necessary for the purposes of your career that you should have no more than an elementary knowledge of languages or literature or history or mathematics or science, and it may be that to get a degree, a superficial knowledge of a few of these subjects will suffice, but if you study them at a University, you should study them as if your object were to become a scholar, an historian, a mathematician or a scientist, and you should be content not with the mere standard of an examination, but with nothing less than the standard of

your professors. Only if you study in this spirit, will you derive the full advantage which this place can give you; only so, will you be able to repay what has been given you by adding distinction to the University of which you are members.

And this is true not only in the field of learning, but in the social life of the University. Most of you, I hope, have political ambitions and whether or not you ever become active politicians, you are probably anxious to see the development of the political consciousness of your country. We hear much of the desire of India to govern itself. But India has to be created before it can govern itself or defend itself or have a self with which to do anything. To build up the Indian nation is the problem of the day, the object of us all. It is my object as much as yours. I am here not to prevent or to retard, but to accelerate the creation of an Indian nationality. But a nation is not an abstraction, a political theory, a form of Government; it is a unit, a community, and it can only exist if the individuals and the smaller communities are prepared to subordinate their lesser interests to its service and its defence. A community consciousness is the first essential of nationhood, and here in a University like this, that community consciousness can be and should be developed. Unless you can conceive of your University as a unit and learn to serve it, you cannot serve Bengal, still less India. In India at present the strongest communities are those of caste and creed. I do not criticise them or suggest that they are inconsistent with nationhood. On the contrary, they are indispensable links in the chain, but, until you have found some other

common interest, which can dominate caste and unite rival creeds, an Indian nation cannot become a reality. I suggest to you, then, and this is the last thing I desire to say to you, that here in your University life you should try and build up among yourselves a University consciousness, a community membership, which will override all other considerations. Try and conceive of Dacca University as an *Alma-Mater* in whose service the Muhammadan and the Hindu can find a common bond of unity, and whose credit and reputation shall stand to you for something greater than personal ambition or worldly advancement. If you can learn this while you are students, you will have qualified yourselves for the service of a still greater Mother hereafter.

***His Excellency's Speech at the opening of
the Presidents' Conference at Dacca,
on 23rd February 1923.***

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you for the address which you have presented to me and I am glad to have this opportunity of identifying myself with this Conference, which has now met for seven successive years and which is capable of doing so much for the advancement of local self-government in this district.

You claim with justifiable pride that this district occupies a premier position in the province in the development of local self-government. I welcome this statement for it shows that you appreciate as fully as I do the advantages which must result from such development, and that you are laying solid foundations upon which a national system of self-government may be built and maintained.

I am glad to hear of your progress in the past year and of the improvement in the opinion of the public towards these Union Boards. Out of the 328 Unions in the district, 216 have now got Union Boards, representing an advance of 86 on the previous year. This shows, I think, that the good sense of the people has prevailed over misrepresentations of those who tried to destroy a valuable movement which offered great advantages, both present and future, for no other reason than that it was initiated by Government. I need not dwell on the advantages which you can derive from the management of your own affairs, for you yourselves

will have been the first to appreciate the amenities which have been introduced into village life by the establishment of Union Boards—the construction and repair of roads, distribution of medicine, improvement of the water-supply and the encouragement of primary education. Apart from these immediate and direct benefits, as I pointed out to a similar conference at Burdwan, the management by the people of their own village affairs is an invaluable training for participation in the wider sphere of provincial politics. „At last year's conference, Lord Ronaldshay referred to the difficulties with which Union Boards were faced owing to the small amounts of money at their disposal for effecting sanitary and other improvements in their areas, and he pointed out that the solution of the problem rested to a large extent with you, as you are free to levy additional rates under section 37(b) of the Village Self-Government Act, and I believe that you have largely followed this advice; but I should like to repeat what I said at Burdwan on this subject last month, that it is for the Union Boards, and for them alone, to decide what, if any, additional taxation should be levied. Local improvements cannot be obtained without local taxation, but there is no obligation whatever upon any Union Board to undertake the improvements or to impose fresh taxation.

I would like to repeat also what I said at Burdwan about members of the Boards assessing themselves fairly and paying their taxes honestly. You will agree with me, I am sure, that this is a small price to pay in order to secure the confidence

of the public and to establish a reputation for fair dealing.

Thirty-one more Union benches and courts have been established during the year and I understand that the villagers are appreciating the benefit of being able to settle at a minimum of cost and trouble their various petty disputes. A dispute which has to be taken to a distant court, always involves delay, considerable expense for both the parties and very often a bitterness which survives the settlement. A dispute which is settled on the spot avoids all these evils, and the power to settle small disputes locally, promptly and with the minimum of publicity is one of the most valuable features of the Village Self-Government Act.

In the address one or two matters have been mentioned, to which, perhaps, I may refer. You ask that Presidents of Union Boards in this district may be appointed to the committee to be formed for the amendment of the Bengal Village Self-Government Act.

I am not quite clear to what committee you refer. Government is not contemplating any amendment of the Village Self-Government Act themselves. Two private Bills have been introduced into the Legislative Council for the amendment of the Act, and Government is collecting opinions with regard to them. We shall be glad to have the considered opinion of your Association regarding these Bills, and the Legislative Department has been instructed to send you a few copies of the Bills for your consideration.

You refer also to the question of water-supply. This is probably the most important subject which the local bodies can take up. The Hon'ble Minister proposes to summon a conference next month to consider whether any methods can be devised for improving the rural supply and representatives from this district will be invited.

Lastly, you mention the water hyacinth problem. The report of Sir J. C. Bose's Committee has now been published and is being considered; that report recommends that legislation be undertaken to secure concerted action for the eradication of the weed. Whether or not legislation is possible it is clear that the problem can be dealt with only by general co-operation: for unless combined efforts are made for its complete eradication simultaneously in all areas affected, places will be left untouched from which the pest will spread again.

Gentlemen, I wish you all success in your work. I hope that it may be possible for me to be present at your annual meeting each year and that when I next have the pleasure of meeting you, you will have another year of steady progress to your credit.
